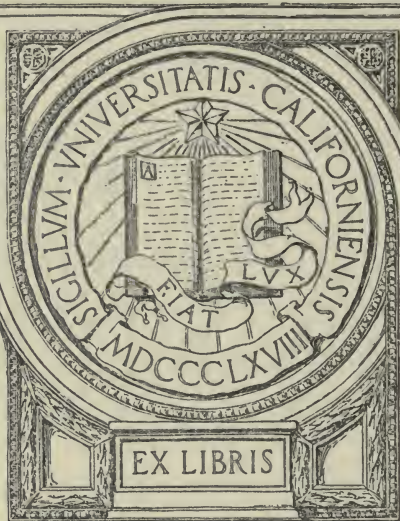


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INTRODUCTION TO SOCIOLOGY

INTRODUCTION TO SOCIOLOGY

By

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ESSENTIALS OF SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY
ESSENTIALS OF AMERICANIZATION
A HISTORY OF SOCIAL THOUGHT

THIRD REVISED EDITION

1922

JESSE RAY MILLER

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JESSE RAY MILLER
UNIVERSITY OF SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA PRESS
LOS ANGELES

DEDICATED
TO THE MEMORY
OF MY FATHER AND MOTHER
HENRY B. AND ELIZA M. BOGARDUS.

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PREFACE TO THE FIRST EDITION (1913)

(Abridged)

This syllabus is published as it is being worked out in practice at the University of Southern California. While not in a perfect form, it represents a beginning in what may be an important direction.

The increasing interest in the study of society and societary problems by thinking people has created a growing demand for social science courses in colleges and universities. The need is not entirely for upper division and graduate students, but also for college freshmen and sophmores and students in normal schools.

There is need for a sociological course of study that will give the student a broad, comprehensive outlook at the beginning of his college career, and prepare him for and arouse his interests in further work in social science. This study should make it possible for him to choose his life-activity with reference to all the activities of society and assist him more or less permanently in keeping his life work properly accentuated and fitted into its correct place in the ongoing of the social process. Such a course may well be given, not from the uncorrelated points of view of the respective social sciences, but from a societary point of view.

The chief object of this book is to whet the student's appetite for more knowledge in the field of the social sciences, and to arouse within him early in his college life a strong desire to go ahead systematically, with further work in each of the social science branches.

PREFACE TO THE SECOND EDITION (1917)

(Abridged)

Several changes will be noted in this edition. (1) The syllabus form has been supplanted by the regular text-book style. (2) The title has been changed to *Introduction to Sociology* from *Introduction to the Social Sciences*. (3) In this edition the emphasis is placed upon social progress as affected by the various constituent factors; in the earlier edition the stress was placed upon the factors in social progress: a change of emphasis is thereby to be noted. The modification has produced more unity and more definite concentration upon sociological data. (4) The reading references and the suggested topics for investigation have been revised. (5) Exercises for class discussion have been added to each chapter. (6) The reorganization of materials has resulted in the inclusion of four additional chapters.

The writer is convinced, after having used the first edition for four years, that the college student will become a better citizen and member of society because of having made a comprehensive analysis of social progress and its constituent factors. While taking such a course, students have experienced a fundamental change in attitudes; these have slowly but surely changed from narrow and often shallow conceptions to broad, deep, rational, and social beliefs. The evidence is not simply that of word of mouth but in behavior.

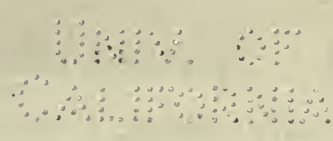
PREFACE TO THE THIRD EDITION

Ten years have now passed since the author first began to teach the beginning course in sociology to lower division college and university students. He is convinced that the freshman year in college is none too soon to introduce young people to sociological truth; in fact, such a period is probably belated. Youth needs sociological truth as soon as they begin to grasp individualistic truth.

This edition, it is believed by the writer, represents a distinct advance over the preceding editions. It treats sociology as the scientific study of group phenomena, of the factors controlling groups, of the different permanent forms and laws of group life, of group control and progress. The principle has been kept to the front throughout the treatise that the chief justification of the existence of any group is found in giving the persons who compose that group the fullest and richest possibilities of developing all their potential powers. Another principle of importance has been given a similar prominence, namely, that the chief justification of the existence of any person is found in giving his life unselfishly in upbuilding the lives of other persons and groups.

EMORY S. BOGARDUS

January 1, 1922
University of Southern California
Los Angeles



CHAPTER I

THE NATURE OF HUMAN GROUPS

SOCIOLOGY is the scientific study of group phenomena. These consist primarily of different types of social groups, of group processes, of group institutions, and of the behavior of individuals in groups. It is well therefore that this study be opened with a consideration of the nature of social groups.

1. *The Study of Group Phenomena.* Every person is a member of several social groups. Moreover, he has developed because of his group antecedents and connections. He cannot be understood and he cannot even understand himself unless this group life and process first be fathomed and analyzed. Neither can modern family life, play life, occupational life, school life, religious life, or community life in their various rural and urban, or racial and world backgrounds be comprehended unless first an analysis of the nature and laws of the social group be made.

All the groups of which a person is a member exert an unmeasured influence upon him. Their traditions have molded his attitudes. They are con-

tinually directing a never-ending variety of influences upon him, sometimes in quiet, indirect, and unsuspected ways, and then occasionally in brazen fashion; sometimes they operate helpfully, and again with relentless destruction.

Withal, each person exercises an influence, toward or untoward, upon the groups of which he is a unit. As a result of the give-and-take processes between group and individual, between individual and individual, and even between group and group, personality expands or shrinks, and becomes richer or poorer in quality. Out of the multiplicity of social interaction, personal life and group life alike grow rich and wholesome, or else decay.

Groups vary in type. The smallest includes only two persons, for example, two individuals who have met on the street for only a few minutes to converse; or a courtship group of two persons. The largest social group is the whole human race with it numbers approximating two thousand million individuals, a group intangible and unwieldy in conception and for the most part without a world group consciousness. Again, there are face-to-face groups, as the family group or the play group; and in other instances, there is the largest public where one member rarely sees more than a fraction of his group, for example, of his national or racial group. Some associations are temporary, lasting only a few minutes, as in the case of the conversational group;

others are relatively permanent, lasting a millennium or more, for instance, the English government.

A person's generic relation to groups varies. He is born into certain groups, such as the family, neighborhood, race, and national groups; the first and third of these he can never forsake. He may elect to join certain types of groups, such as the educational, community, or political. He may originate a group by organizing a committee to promulgate a legislative measure, or to abate a neighborhood nuisance; or by founding a society to develop a public or professional interest in art, science, or religion.

Groups conflict. Football teams play for championship honors; business firms compete for trade; political parties fight bitterly; and nations on occasion resort to armed warfare, using submarine and poison gas viciously against each other. Under the swirl of group emotion, sometimes called patriotism, individuals forsake their loyalty to all intra-groups, and dedicate their lives to the larger group service.

The conflict often takes place between a large group and a constituent association of persons. A committee may struggle vigorously in a college class meeting in behalf of a change in traditions. A lobby in Congress may work year in and out in behalf of a new measure or to support a dying tradition. Any propaganda within a large association of people is

opposed by the inertia or the active opinion of the whole body and also by small groups specifically organized to combat the new doctrine. A National Child Labor Committee, organized to protect the welfare of children in industry, finds its activities opposed by employers' associations, and even perhaps by judicial decisions based on precedents that were established decades or a century previous. An organization of persons who are working together in behalf of any new cause must face the opposition of powerful bodies of people who are supporting the established order.

Groups conflict in friendly ways. One organization of college students vies with other groups in selling tickets, in securing members, in soliciting funds. Farmers compete in raising corn or thoroughbred cattle. Salesmen are pitted in friendly competition against each other in securing customers.

Groups co-operate. Business firms form chambers of commerce. Sororities establish a pan-Hellenic. Churches of the same religious profession create districts and dioceses. In 1789, the thirteen American colonies federated; in 1921, over forty nations united in a world League.

Groups overlap. A person may belong to a family, a school, a church, and a nation group simultaneously without experiencing a serious conflict in loyalties. On the other hand certain groups are mu-

tually exclusive. At a given time, no person is an active member of both the Republican and Socialist parties; no one worships as both a Catholic and a Jew.

The study of human association may be approached from the standpoint of animal groups. The pack of wolves, the herd of cattle, the swarm of bees, the covey or flock of birds, the school of fish—these terms indicate a central fact of animal life, namely, an associative nature. In all these groups the phenomena of leadership and group control are found. The arbitrary and autocratic activities of physically and psychically powerful leaders are paralleled oftentimes by a blind obedience, and sometimes by a degree of over-organization that is stifling. Examples of conflict and co-operative processes in associational life abound.

Sociology as a study of group phenomena is an old subject. Scientific methods have been applied to analyzing group life only within recent years, and therefore sociology as a scientific study is a new subject in the college curriculum. Its growth, however, is rapid; the belief is now becoming widespread that no person is well educated or truly cultured who is unversed in sociological principles.

The student of sociology can never get outside his laboratory, which is comprised of human groups. While at work or play, and while experiencing gain or loss, he is experimenting, consciously or other-

wise, in the sociological laboratory. By blundering along with his eyes set chiefly on his own gain he lives and dies, his praises unheralded or else sung in a limited or questionable way, without returning the talent to society which he received from society. By attaining social culture, and by developing a socialized behavior he may serve mankind helpfully, and in serving develop his personality into a full-orbed sun of the first magnitude in the societary firmament.

Social groups, personalities, social attitudes, and social processes—these are the leading sociological data. The processes by which personalities are developed within group life—these constitute the main field of sociological study. Sociology therefore is the study of collective and personal behavior as evidenced in group life.

2. Personal Behavior and Group Life. Powerful groups are usually antecedent to the persons who comprise them. Nearly every person has been born into a family group with decades of traditions behind it; into a national group with a hoary culture; and into a racial group with its pre-judgments rooted in ancient epochs. During the earliest years of his life, the infant is almost helpless in the face of these traditional attitudes and judgments, with years, decades, centuries, and oftentimes millenniums of momentum carrying them on. In endless

ways, often indirect and subtle, these gigantic forces operate upon the simple, unorganized mental operations of the mind of the infant or child.

The child, however, is not made of putty; he early begins to object to many environmental factors, and his behavior takes on distinctive traits. Around these reactions, often contrary to traditional attitudes, his personal attitudes are built up. By virtue of the unique phases of his behavior he becomes known as possessing character, either good or bad.

In order to understand personal behavior it is necessary to know the nature of the specific social heritage. A person's behavior is determined in part by the group heritage into which he has been born and under whose influence he has been raised. Remove the social heritage of mechanical and electrical discoveries from the life of Thomas A. Edison, and the distinguished scientist could not have contributed to the invention of the incandescent lamp, the trolley car, the telephone, the talking machine, and the motion picture film. Remove the social heritage of knowledge concerning steam engines, telegraph systems, and other means of communication, even language itself, from the life of E. H. Harriman, and there would have been no "railroad king." We are indebted in so many indirect ways to the thought life of preceding generations and to the preservation and transmission of this social heritage that we can scarcely realize the extent to

which our personal behavior is governed by it.

Personal attitudes are determined also by group stimulation. A group may possess a wonderfully fine heritage, it may have conserved splendid cultural traditions, and have become so self-satisfied with its glorious past that it offers no encouragement to any of its members to make new social contributions and thus to develop human personality. Under such a condition anyone who stirs in a way to criticize the past may be heavily penalized, even imprisoned. An autocratic political, economic, or social class of people, satisfied with their current status of power and influence, and fearful of any change, may prevent new ideas from incubating. Personal behavior in such an event becomes merely group imitation.

On the other hand, freedom of action may be permitted or even encouraged by the group. Prizes may be offered for inventions. Personal opportunities may be group-fostered, and personal behavior may assume an expansive and joyous freedom.

Sometimes group life is characterized by a dull stagnation, in which group stimulation is at the zero mark. At another time group life may be throbbing with energy and purpose. Under such conditions, a normal growing youth is stimulated beyond measure—perhaps to lead his college mates in scholarship, in athletic prowess, or in debating. Where missionary teaching is common, young people vol-

unteer for the foreign field. In the group where boxing is honored above all else, the members are desirous to become champion users of the glove. In a business group that puts a premium upon enterprise, young men are stimulated to take great financial risks. In a Sierra club, the members are constrained to undertake new and difficult mountain-climbing feats.

Personal behavior is related to biological inheritance. Phlegmatic or nervous behavior can often be traced directly to the influence of racial stocks. A strong or weak biological strain is definitely expressed in terms of personal behavior.

A Mozart or a Mendelsohn possess special inherited qualities. The behavior of an imbecile is directly traceable to heredity. The percentages of both the highly talented and the mentally deficient are low; the mass of a given population are characterized by potential ability sufficient to guarantee to each person a useful and honored career.

Behavior depends also on personal initiative, a quality which may be inherited either biologically or socially. It may arise in answer to group stimulation; or it may be more or less independent of biological heritage, social heritage, and group stimulation, and represent personality in its most distinctive attitude. Personality includes more than the sum total of its constituent parts; it comprises a precious spiritual element, uniquely expressed in

every individual, and when socialized, endlessly useful, and imperishable.

3. *The Historical Development of the Human Group.* Group phenomena, it has been indicated, range from the behavior of two persons casually greeting one another upon the street to the activities of the entire human race. As a background for considering the nature of common group phenomena, the student may turn his attention to the whole human group. A vastness of numbers, a marvelous development from humble beginnings, and an intricately complex array of social activities and institutions—these are some of the elemental facts. The human group, composed of nearly 2,000,000,000 persons, old and young, can hardly be visualized. If all these human beings were able-bodied adults and could pass by a reviewing stand, the procession practically would be endless. If they came in single file, one every six feet, passing by at the rapid rate of one a second, sixty a minute, 3,600 an hour, day and night, the procession would continue for more than half a century.

Mankind has been on the face of the earth much longer than scholars once thought. The most reliable investigators in this field state that the history of human groups upon the earth covers a period of great length.

The remains of primitive man have been found

in a region extending from Java through India to England. From this central strip of territory, early human groups seem to have migrated far and wide. They wandered northeast into Mongolia and adjoining territory, and they migrated southwest into Africa. It appears that some of their number drifted from Asia across the Pacific or travelled by land to America in prehistoric times, when America was connected by land with Asia on the west and with Europe on the east.

Modern knowledge of prehistoric society is based on several factors.

(1) There is the study of certain parts of the human skeleton which have been preserved in fossil state. The age of such remains is determined (a) by the nature of the geological strata in which they are imbedded, (b) by the types of the associated fauna, and (c) by a comparative study of human skeletons.

(2) There is the examination of implements of various kinds which owe their preservation to the almost indestructible nature of the material of which they are composed. (3) Closely related to the implements of flint, in the study of prehistoric groups, are the monuments and the works of art. (4) Further information concerning the nature of prehistoric groups is found in the drawings upon ancient cave walls.

The earliest period in the history of human groups

is sometimes called the Paleolithic or Old Stone Age. At that time the use of metals was not known. While stone was utilized mainly, other materials such as bone, horn, shell, and wood served well in the manufacture of tools and weapons. The implements of the Paleolithic Age were all of the rudest type; they were neither ground nor polished; they were simply roughly chipped. In the Paleolithic period, no animals seem to have been domesticated, and fire likewise was probably unknown. Food consisted chiefly of uncooked vegetables and the raw flesh of fish and animals.

An interesting picture of prehistoric days is given by R. R. Marett of Oxford, who was a member of a party that made an important discovery while excavating in Jersey, one of the islands in the English Channel. A prehistoric hearth was uncovered. There were the big stones which had propped up the fire. There were the ashes. There were the pieces of decayed bone, which proved to be the remains of a woolly rhinoceros, of reindeer, of a strange appearing horse, in other words, of species of animals which had not lived in that given region for thousands of years, and which indeed have long been extinct.

In the next place, the food heap yielded thirteen human teeth—a discovery which prompted the question: Did the beasts eat the man, or the man eat the beasts? This prehistoric sketch is completed

by the statement that there many coarse flint instruments (knives), chipped only on one side, lying about.

After the Paleolithic came the Neolithic, or New Stone Age. Neolithic implements are distinctly superior to Paleolithic, and represent skill of a higher order. They were made of many kinds of stone besides flint, and were often ground to an edge that was sometimes polished.

An important distinction between Paleolithic and Neolithic remains is the fact that among the latter are found pieces of crude pottery. In Neolithic times fire was used for human purposes; the method of kindling it artificially had been discovered. Cooked food supplemented raw food. The domestication of the horse, sheep, ox, goat, pig, and dog had taken place; and helped to make civilization possible. Cattle were used to some extent as a measure of value. Monuments indicating the nature of religious rites of primitive groups have been left by Neolithic peoples. Fortifications and burial mounds, especially the latter, are numerous; in Ohio, for instance, there are many of these reminders of Neolithic times.

Then came the so-called Bronze Age of human society. The discovery and use of metals mark a definite step in human progress. It seems that copper, in its native condition generally preceded its use in a form mixed with tin or zinc. The com-

pound, bronze, was much harder and tougher, and hence more useful. As a measure of value cattle were supplanted by copper; and copper bars, used as coins, were stamped with the image of the animals which were once the standards of value, namely, the cow, sheep, or dog.

It is believed that iron was first used about 1000 B.C., at which time the so-called Iron Age may be said to have begun. Implements were now made of hard and valuable metal, iron. The Iron Age, however, did not enter upon its main era until the latter part of the nineteenth century A.D. in England, when the use of steam power gave to the world the factory system, made iron and steel of paramount importance, and created an industrial age.

During the centuries preceding historic times, the development of tool-making was an outstanding feature. Migration was common. Human groups were loosely related to the soil, and thus were on the move a great deal of the time. People worked co-operatively; house-building, canoe-building, fishing, hunting were conducted by groups of people in communistic fashion.

It has been said by O. T. Mason that whatever one's belief concerning the manner, the place, and the time of man's advent upon the earth, a study of prehistoric group life shows that man was at first a houseless, unclothed being, without experience or skill—and that through association in groups he has

achieved his present high civilized level.

Within historic days, the chief emphasis in human society is no longer to be laid upon the material of which human implements are made but rather upon psychical and social phenomena. Social attitudes and personal behavior are now vital data. The development of constructively-minded and wholesome personalities in and through group life has become the central field of human significance, and the main theme of sociology.

The history of any group of people generally shows eras of marked advance and also periods of retrogression. Human society itself, since the days when men began to succeed in the struggle with the higher forms of animal life for earthly control, and extending to the present day, has progressed marvelously.

The illustrations of social progress are countless. For example: Compare the loose family life of the best peoples among primitive tribes with the highly developed forms of love and affection that now characterize the best type of families. Put the conjuries of medicine men or the practices of witchcraft alongside the achievements of Pasteur, or Koch, or Carrell. Consider cattle or bars of iron as media of exchange in early economic life in comparison with the highly organized credit systems of today. Think of the advance from government in the hands of a despot to government under

the direction of an enlightened, democratically-minded people. Compare ethical conduct dictated by a thousand years of custom control to ethical conduct as the outgrowth of rational processes of socialized thinking. Picture the esthetic effort of a Bushman playing upon one string stretched across a gourd, in comparison with the modern rendition of Beethoven's symphonies. Parallel primitive methods of preserving information through laborious remembering exertions with the twentieth century lightning-like printing processes. Think of the animistic superstitions of early man in the light of the highly rational, and broadly social interpretations of the finest current expressions of Christianity. The simple associational activities of a Fuegian are kindergarten in size and quality when the national and international associative activities of a President of the United States are made panoramic. These illustrations throw light on the fact of human progress.

The development of the social group has been deeply affected by geographic, biologic, psychologic and sociologic factors. These conditioning elements, moreover, have been instrumental in producing a variety of group types. In this process, however, survival needs and psychic interstimulation have been predominant. There are the family and play groups wherein fundamental social principles

are grasped. There is the occupational group wherein work-a-day attitudes are produced. There are the educational, religious, and community groups wherein certain large universal attitudes are fostered. There are the rural and urban, as well as racial, divisions of the population with their attendant social attitudes. Then there are the problems of group control and progress which concern the welfare of every member of all groups. This book attempts to traverse the course which in this paragraph has been staked out.

Sociology thus deals with the most practical phases of everyday life; it is one of the most broadening and cultural of all studies. Any member of a human group who would be well educated must know the laws of group life, and understand thoroughly the nature of the processes by which group members develop unselfish personalities.

Sociology is not a propagandist study. Its aim is to discover social facts; it searches for all the important data on all sides of a disputed question; and it presents these data to the student in as unprejudiced a manner as possible. It strives to be inductive and scientific; it is a scientific study of group phenomena and processes as exhibited in personal behavior.

The pupil usually finds that the normal results of studying sociology include a more social point of view, an increasing dislike for narrow, prejudiced

attitudes, and a socializing of behavior. In a genuine and fundamental sense, sociology is a primary factor in building a just, harmonious, and co-operative personal and group life.

PROBLEMS

1. What is the purpose of questions for discussion, such as those at the close of the chapters of this book?
2. Should students sit clam-like in class?
3. What is the derivation of the term, sociology?
4. How do human groups resemble animal groups, such as the pack or herd?
5. How do human groups differ from animal groups?
6. To how many social groups do you belong at present?
7. In how many of these groups did you become a member by choice?
8. What choices do you make that are more influential in your life than choosing persons with whom to associate?
9. What is a social problem?
10. What is a social institution?
11. Why have you begun the study of sociology?
12. Will this study probably make you a more useful citizen or a more successful individual?

CHAPTER II

GROUPS AND GEOGRAPHIC FACTORS

A NATURAL approach to the study of sociology is through geography and geology. These sciences present the setting of the human panorama. Through them are revealed the operation of the fundamental processes that have been factors in controlling the nature of associative life.

1. *The Earth as Man's Home.* The earth as the home of human groups underwent a long series of changes before man appeared thereon. The few, crude stone implements which have been found in the deposits belonging to the comparatively recent glacial epochs constitute "a silent testimony to the appearance of man."

Then came the long struggle between the earth and human groups, and between various species of animal life in prehistoric epochs. These contests finally ended in human predominance and the development of civilization. Behind all the conflicts, however, was that "orderly and world embracing process by which the once uninhabitable globe has come to be man's appointed home."

In far-reaching ways, man is dependent upon the relations which the earth holds to the remainder of the solar system. The marvelous findings of astronomy have enlarged the human conception of the universe a thousand-fold. The length of the day, the seasons, and the years are determined by the earth's relation to the sun. Such phenomena as the dependable, daily rising of the sun have played a leading part in creating man's ideas of "order" and "permanence." The safety of sea-faring vessels is related to the position of the stars. Latitude and longitude, accurate maps of continents and oceans, boundaries of estates and nations are determined through reference to the stars. Endlessly and continuously man is dependent on and limited by the great laws of the universe over which he has no control and the nature of which he does not fully understand.

2. Influences of Soil Fertility and Land Area.

The place or location of human groups on the earth is determined by geographic influences. Among primitive peoples especially, the domination of geographic conditions was marked. Early human groups developed in those sections of the earth where food could be easily obtained. The first large population centers arose in the valleys of the Euphrates, the Ganges, the Yangtse-Kiang, and the Nile. "The first dense massing of human popula-

tion was in that wonderful valley, six hundred miles long with an average breadth of seven miles, over which every summer from immemorial time the Nile has spread the rich black silt of the Abyssinian hills." Today the largest aggregations of people are located not only in the valleys that have been mentioned, but also in the valleys of the Po, the Seine, the Rhine, the Thames, the Hudson, and the Mississippi.

Human groups increase most rapidly in river valleys. The reason for this conclusion is found in the fertility of the soil of these valleys; fertile soil makes possible a cheap and large food supply. The Amazon river valley, the most fertile in the world, is an outstanding exception. Here, however, the rainfall is so excessive, nature is so flourishing, insects and wild beasts so numerous, pathogenic bacteria so virile—that man has not been able to make his power felt. He has been almost completely baffled in his attempts to secure control over rampant nature.

In regions where the soil is non-fertile or where lack of rainfall has created barren, boundless, arid plains, there population is sparse and "restless, rootless people" are found. As Ellen C. Semple has said, migration alone is permanent; and although the people are constantly moving, progress stands still. The habit of migrating on the part of primitive groups does not permit the accumulation of

wealth except that which can move itself, such as flocks and herds. The supply of clothing and utensils is meagre; the use of much furniture in tents is rare; and the opportunity to attain historical prominence is missing.

In desert regions, only marauding groups survive, and hence the term, robber, becomes a title of honor. The harsh conditions of desert regions make the Arab the hardiest and bravest of human beings. A desert environment encourages the spirit of independence, but checks tendencies toward political organization. The desert has been pronounced the last part of the earth to yield to conquest by outside powers—because of the brave, independent spirit of the inhabitants and because of the difficulty in overcoming the physical conditions of the environment.

The harsh desert conditions have affected the customs of the people; it is said, for example, that an ordinary American dinner would make five or six meals for an Arab. The opportunities for individual growth are so few that there is practically no change in customs, mode of life, or beliefs from generation to generation.

The so-called desert-born genius for religion may be partly explained by the fact that the human mind, finding little of concrete interest, develops an impression of unity and a gravitation toward monotheism in the human mind which is inclined to-

ward reflection upon religious matters. The deserts of Syria and Arabia have played a part in the origin of the three leading monotheistic religions of the world—Mohammedanism, Judaism, and Christianity.

The soil is the greatest natural resource of the earth. It is a source of all life: from it, in part, comes all food, the materials from which clothing is made, and with which houses, cities, and transportation lines are built. The conservation of the soil has been short-sightedly neglected. It is estimated that in the United States alone the farms lose \$500,000,000 in value, yearly, because the rich top-soil is allowed to be washed off and drained into the rivers. It is a common custom to allow the cultivators of the soil to rob it steadily of the elements which produce large crops and not to put back into the soil equivalent returns. Consequently worn out farms have become numerous.

Where a conservation policy has been pursued, the situation is different. In certain German states that have been cultivated for 1800 years or more and where the soil is not naturally so productive as in the United States, the yield of wheat averages twice as much an acre as in the latter country. Every agricultural group has a definite obligation regarding the conservation of the soil for the well-being of future generations.

Inasmuch as the need for conserving not only

the soil but all natural resources is a single problem, the situation regarding the conservation of minerals, forests, and water power will be noted at this time. The mineral resources of a country, such as the United States, have been so great that they have been treated ruthlessly. The rush of a few people, for instance, to turn coal into money has resulted in the waste of one-fourth to one-half of it, and at a terrific toll in human lives and suffering. Natural gas is a valuable fuel, limited in amount, and yet it has been unpatriotically and recklessly burned, especially by oil field promoters. The haste of a few persons to convert forests into money has meant that of all the trees which have been cut down, fully one-half have been wasted in the forests, either left to decay or to be burned by forest fires.

It is estimated that in the United States alone, there is running idly over falls and dams, more than 30,000,000 horse-power of energy. It is further estimated that enough power is allowed to go unused to operate every factory, to turn every wheel, to move every electric car and to supply every light and power station in the country. Conservation does not mean the locking up of natural resources nor a hindrance to social progress in any direction, but that individuals and corporate groups shall be required to use these resources in the light of the needs of future generations of people.

Area, like soil fertility, and natural resources in

general, has had a deep influence on human life. Groups of people living in small areas differ in thought life from those occupying large areas. Islands, peninsulas, and mountain valleys have been described as bars to expansion; on the other hand they develop close relationships between the members living therein. The inhabitants are handicapped by numerical weakness, and may be surrounded by invading groups. Belgium, Holland, and Switzerland exist as distinct nations on sufferance of the large powers—notwithstanding for instance Belgium's defensive strength in 1914.

The people who live in small areas are likely to be markedly individualistic, and are in danger of overestimating their own size and importance. In a small area, as Miss Semple states, the people tend to measure distance with a yardstick. Plato, a broad-minded philosopher who lived in a small-area environment, conceived of an ideal democracy as limiting its free citizens to 5040 heads of families, all living within easy reach of the marketplace.

The larger the area, the more certain is the guarantee of group permanence, because there are more natural resources, more occupational activities, and more chances for personal achievement. The larger the area under one political control, the greater the economic and political independence. As a result of its vast area and extensive resources, the United States has been enabled to maintain a protective

tariff. The immense area of Russia has been called the military ally on which she can most surely count; the length of the road to Moscow was undoubtedly a leading factor in turning Napoleon's victorious march into a debacle.

A people who occupy a large area are sooner or later likely to have many contacts with other peoples, easy access to ocean highways, and opportunities to establish many international relationships. A large area gives individuals ultimately a wide outlook on life, and nations a continental attitude.

Area includes location. The location of the Phoenicians enabled them to become the middlemen between the Orient and the Occident. The location of Holland at the mouth of the Rhine waterway helped that nation to maintain for several centuries maritime supremacy of the world. The out-of-the-way location of the Isle of Man prevented the inhabitants from coming in contact with new and progressive ideas.

3. *Effects of Mountain and Ocean Environments.* Mountains usually stand as majestic but inert masses in the midst of growing civilizations. Mountain passes alone are used. These nature-made thoroughfares draw to themselves migration, travel, trade, and military expeditions; they are traversed alike by undisciplined hordes, organized

armies, wagon trains, and transcontinental highways.

Mountains are sparsely populated; a very small percentage of the world's population lives 5000 feet or more above sea level. Most of the civilized groups of the world live where the altitude is between 1000 feet and 100 feet. In the high regions the potential food supply is scarce, and in the low regions, for example, below sea level, the health conditions are poor.

Mountain barriers, notes Miss Semple, whose splendid analysis is accepted in the following paragraphs, are rarely impartial. One slope is generally steep; and the other, gentle. On the gentler slope is found a wide zone of food supply and habitation. On one side of the Himalayas is the vast population of India; on the other, the scattered nomadic tribes of Tibet. The western side of the Rockies feels the warm air of the Pacific winds; the eastern slope experiences in winter the rigor of a subarctic climate, in summer the heat of the subtropics.

High altitudes with their long winters stimulate industries in the home. Almost everywhere native mountain industries have reached a noticeable degree of specialization. The carving of articles from wood, the manufacture of artistic metal work in silver and copper, the manufacture of the well-known Kashmir shawls, and of the finest violin strings in the world indicate the nature of mountain

industries.

Maintenance of life in high altitudes is always a struggle; the biological principle of the survival of the fittest operates. The spirit of independence is engendered. The conquest of mountain peoples is always expensive, for an invader has two enemies to fight, the rough mountain topography and the armed foe.

Every aspect of the environment hinders social integration. Political dismemberment is an inherent weakness of mountain peoples; political consolidation is forced upon them from without. The Swiss Republic may be cited as the result, in part, of threatened encroachments from outside groups.

Mountain environments produce conservatism, for little reaches the mountain dweller from outside peoples to stimulate him. Religion remains orthodox, and antiquated customs and languages abound. The prevailing motto is: To have and to hold. The mountains have been described as museums of social antiquity.

Mountain dwellers are suspicious of strangers. As instanced by feuds, mountain peoples are characterized by pronounced loves and hates. When they move to the plains and cities to live, they are likely to be formidable competitors, because as Miss Semple has summarized their traits, they possess strong muscles, unjaded nerves, iron purposes and indifference to luxury.

A proximity to coast lines and bodies of water, such as an ocean, arouses unique feelings within the human mind. The "flow of stream and ebb of tide have sooner or later, stirred the curiosity of land-born barbarians," and the "eternal unrest of moving waters" has constituted a continual knocking at the door of human inertia. In timid fashion, involuntarily, or boldly, men have followed ocean currents and trade winds to the ends of the earth.

The ocean has called forth inventions from the mind of man: first, floats and rafts; then devices for securing displacement; and in recent decades, floating sea monsters and submarines. The ocean has made possible special occupations for human beings; thousands of people are employed as fishermen, and sailors, or in the navy, on ocean liners, in the canneries, and in shipbuilding.

Unthinking people have sometimes lamented the fact that the earth's surface is three-fourths water and one-fourth land. Science has shown however that human beings have survived because they could meet the conditions of a water surface that is three times as extensive as the land surface. The world would have been poorer if the proportion of water and land had been reversed. The different branches of the human family would have resembled one another more closely, and similarity of types might have hindered development. Furthermore, it is necessary that a large proportion of the earth's sur-

face be covered with water, in order to furnish a rainfall sufficient for the life on the remaining portion. If only one-fourth of the earth's surface were a water surface, the remaining three-fourths would probably be a vast desert.

A population residing near the mouths of rivers has geographic advantages. It has opportunity to develop inland trade and ocean commerce, and on the other hand, it tends to become cosmopolitan. The fertile, alluvial soil yields large returns. The population who live at the mouths of rivers can bottle up economically and politically the peoples who live near the sources of these rivers.

A river and its branches is a system of communication. It connects the inhabitants of its basin with the people "on far-off, unseen shores." A river is a common servant of the life of the basin. Rivers unite people; they are poor social boundaries, because the people living on either side of the main current have similar life conditions. They tend to think and act alike.

4. *Climatic Control.* Climate fixes the location of human groups. Arctic latitudes, high altitudes, and arid regions draw the dead-line for all life. A certain range of temperature and of moisture is essential to all those forms of life upon which human existence depends.

A mean annual temperature of approximately

fifty degrees Fahrenheit seems to be best for human progress, and of seventy degrees is enervating, while an average of thirty degrees gives mankind too many obstacles to overcome. In continental United States the mean annual temperature is fifty-three degrees; the greater density of population is found where the average ranges from forty-five to fifty-five degrees. On either side of these limits the density of population rapidly diminishes. Less than one-third of the inhabitants live where the annual temperature is over fifty-five degrees, and only one-hundredth of the population live where the average temperature is seventy degrees and over. Ellsworth Huntington estimates that an average temperature of forty degrees in winter and of sixty-four in summer is best for human stimulation.

Thirty to fifty inches of rainfall seem to be necessary for the growth of vegetable life, upon which domesticated animals and man live. No groups of people of significance have developed excepting in the Nile valley, where the rainfall is ten inches or less a year, unless irrigation methods are used. A hundred inches or over of rainfall give a growth of vegetable life too luxuriant for mankind to control with ease.

Humidity, which refers to the amount of moisture in the air in proportion to the amount which the air at any particular temperature is capable of holding, is another influential climatic factor in human life.

A high or low humidity is equally harmful, producing nervousness and lowering vitality. A relative humidity from seventy to eighty per cent is the most favorable.

Another important influence in human life is climatic variability. A succession of sunshine days or of rainy days is equally monotonous and productive of nervousness. Human beings are partly the products of change; and therefore, unchanging weather conditions are irritating. Days of sunshine alternating with days of cloudiness and rain is a desirable climatic condition.

A combination of proper temperature, humidity, and weather variability factors is difficult to find. According to the map of climatic energy which Mr. Huntington has prepared, the North Eastern, North Central and Middle Western States of the United States, England, Ireland, France, Northern Italy, Czecho-Slovakia, Austria, Switzerland, Denmark, Belgium, Holland, and southern Scandinavia lie within the zone of most favorable climatic conditions in the world. It is interesting to compare Mr. Huntington's map of climatic energy with the map of civilization, noticing how the latter parallels the former.

Climate essentially dictates what crops shall be raised. It affects radically the size of the harvest, and determines as a rule what herds of animals shall be kept, whether reindeer, camels, llamas,

horses, or cattle. It influences extensively the nature and amount of man's food and clothing and the type of his dwelling.

In general there is a rather close correspondence between the climate of a region and the temperament of the individual peoples living therein. The northern peoples of Europe are more or less energetic, provident, and thoughtful rather than emotional, cautious rather than impulsive. On the other hand, the southern peoples of the sub-tropical Mediterranean basin are easygoing, gay, emotional, and imaginative. In the colder habitats mankind is more domestic than in the warmer. With the Southerners of the Tropics, the prevailing rule is: Easy come, easy go. They therefore feast, and then famine; they suffer greatly in food crises. As Miss Semple has said, a cold climate puts a steadying hand upon the human heart and brain, and paints life with an autumn tinge.

Tropical and temperate zones are complementary regions of trade. The hot belt of the earth produces numerous useful forms of life that cannot survive in colder countries. A much shorter list of products combined, however, with greater human activity and efficiency, is found in the Temperate Zone.

The migration of people from cold to tropical regions is followed by an enervation of the individual and a loss of group efficiency. These results are partly due to debilitating heat, and partly to easier

conditions of living. Germans for example who colonized portions of Brazil have shown deterioration.

An excellent summary of climatic influences upon man has been made by Miss Semple. Human groups first appeared in the sub-tropics, but developed to modern levels of civilization in the Temperate Zone. Where they have gone into the Tropics they have suffered arrested development. To the extent that the Tropics was man's nursery, it has kept him a child. If the subtropics was the cradle of humanity, then the temperate regions have been the cradle of civilization. It was chiefly when human groups pushed out into the Temperate Zone that they progressed. In other words, the Temperate Zone provides about enough stimuli and enough obstacles for the maximum advance of humanity.

Although Miss Semple has exaggerated when she declares that man is a product of the earth's surface, she has brought the climatic and other geographic influences to the fore with needed and lucid emphasis. It is partly true that the earth has mothered man, has fed him, has set him tasks, has directed his thoughts, and has confronted him with difficulties that have strengthened his body and developed his mental outlook. It is quite true that the geographic factors "in the long history of human development have been operating strongly and operating persistently." They have been relatively

stable forces; they have rarely slept.

It is also true that man has been so noisy about the way that he has conquered Nature and that "Nature has been so silent in her persistent influence over man," that the geographic processes in group life are frequently overlooked. An age-long problem with which mankind has been dealing is the struggle with the physical environment. In the early days of the race the geographic factors dominated more or less completely the advancement of man. During the succeeding centuries there followed a world-wide powerful conflict. Today human dependence on nature is unquestioned, but is far less conspicuous and arbitrary than in early times. Civilized man is not as subject to the caprices of nature as in the jungle days. He is mastering many elements in both time and space. Special progress is characterized by a decreasing amount, relatively, of individual attention to physical matters and by an increasing degree of thoughtful interest in the higher spiritual and associative phases of life. The need for socialized attitudes cannot be overestimated. Out of different geographic environments have come different races, industries, governments, and attitudes—all combining to form "a great sociological puzzle."

Man's interest in material inventions has outrun his development of spiritual controls. He has concocted gigantic engines of war and destructive gases

before he has established a world-wide community of interests. As a result nation groups with selfish purposes stride pompously forward with flashing bayonets to their own destruction. All groups that have acquired political or economic power before mastering their anti-social impulses have perished. The need is urgent for groups, particularly nations, to develop systems of group and personal control based on socialized motives before they acquire control over the physical forces of Nature.

PROBLEMS

1. At what temperature can you study best?
2. Can you work better on a cloudy day or on a clear day?
3. Is it a matter of accident that the weather is a topic of conversation the world over?
4. Explain the statement that the Tropics is the cradle of humanity.
5. In what sense is the Temperate Zone the cradle and school of civilization?
6. Why is the term, robber, a title of honor in the Arabian deserts?
7. Why do people who live in small areas measure life with a yardstick?
8. How do you interpret the statement that "the eternal unrest of moving waters has knocked at the door of human inertia"?
9. Why are mountaineers conservative?
10. Why are the hates and loves of mountaineers so pronounced?

11. Why are mountaineers independent in attitude?
12. How do you explain geographically the gaiety of open-air peoples?
13. Explain the superstitiousness of sailors?
14. Explain the suggestibility of people who live on monotonous plains.
15. Explain the general orthodoxy of farmers.
16. Under what conditions might a large population develop in the Amazon valley?
17. What geographic factors help to determine the location of cities?
18. What geographic factors influenced the location of the city in which or near which you live?
19. Why have people developed their natural resources before developing socialized attitudes?

CHAPTER III

GROUPS AND BIOLOGIC FACTORS.

BIOLOGIC influences in group life, unlike the geographic factors, are subjective. They influence the members of the group through innate, internal mechanisms; they operate from within individuals. There is a sense, however, in which biologic tendencies are objective, namely, they have originated in the past and often influence the individual in mechanistic ways. Biology is fundamental to sociology because it introduces the student to life and the laws of life. Associative life, particularly human life, is a phase of all life, and subject to the same antecedents and principles of operation. It is wise therefore to consider certain biologic influences in group life.

1. *Heredity and Variation.* No individual chooses his heredity; he cannot change his instinctive tendencies, although if he begins early enough in life, or if his parents begin to help him from birth or before, he may acquire control over these tendencies, modify them, and even re-direct their streams of energy. Biological heredity must be

taken cognizance of by every person. One may learn in what ways his behavior is determined by life forces over which he has no control, and what life factors he may master. His stature, the color of his eyes and hair, the shape of his nose, his physical construction and organism, and his physical characters, or characteristics, including instinctive and temperamental predispositions are determined for him. In fact his biological inheritance is practically beyond his control. Only in its psychical phase can he rise superior to it.

Characteristics, or characters, as the biologist uses the term, seem to be transmitted by units. The color of the eye, for example, is a single unit character that may be inherited by either parent. Thus the physical and psychical characters of an individual apparently are compounded units, inherited as units from one parent or the other or from other persons in the line of descent.

Furthermore, these unit characters are inherited in a more or less definite ratio. If one parent has brown eyes and comes from a pure brown-eyed stock, and if the other parent has pure blue eyes and comes from a similar stock, about seventy-five per cent of the children will inherit brown eyes. Since brown and blue are inherited in the ratio approximately of three to one, brown is called the dominant color and blue the recessive.

In the three cases in which brown eyes are in-

herited to the one case of inheritance of blue, it is probable that in only one case are pure brown eyes inherited and that in the other two instances the result is hybrid brown. The latter color is delusive; while the brown alone is visible, there is present a recessive blue which can be inherited by offspring. It is impossible to distinguish the pure brown (from which blue cannot be inherited) from the hybrid brown (from which the recessive blue may be inherited), except by observation of the offspring of the given individual. It is therefore essential to study at least the immediate ancestors of a person, if one would know the type of offspring he will produce. The inheritance of unit characters and the operation of the laws of dominance and recessiveness are phases of the Mendelian laws of inheritance, named after Mendel, who first discovered them while experimenting with garden peas.

It has been found upon a study of a large number of cases that with a few exceptions, offspring deviate less than their parents from the average of the whole group—there is a tendency to regress to the group average. This law of regression partly causes group stability of characters; it also partly explains why the children of geniuses rarely possess the ability of their parents.

It appears that defects of the physical and neural structure of the human organism may be inherited. When the father and mother are related, they are

likely to have the same weak strains, and offspring are therefore in increased danger, perhaps twofold, of inheriting physical and mental defects.

Human characteristics, such as poverty, delinquency, and old age, *per se* are not inherited. In the case of pauperism or delinquency mental defectiveness may have been inherited. The inheritance of feeble-mindedness and a phlegmatic temperament may lead to poverty; while the inheritance of feeble-mindedness and an energetic temperament is likely to result in delinquency and crime. In the case of old age, or longevity, traits or characters such as high vital resistance to disease bacteria, and sound bodily reactions and tissues have probably been inherited. These characteristics together with a favorable environment guarantee old age, or a long life.

Every person is subject to the biological laws not only of heredity but of variation. Variations from parent types appear during the organism's period of development. Little is yet known concerning the cause or the operation of biological variation. There are two types of variation: variability and mutation. Variability refers to small fluctuations in any and every characteristic but always centering about an average or mean. Of a thousand children of given parents it is possible to determine with a fair degree of accuracy their general distribution, for example, as to height. It can be told before-

hand with a reasonable degree of accuracy how many of the thousand children will vary three inches or more either way from the average height of the parents taken as a group.

Mutations are abrupt changes from the average or type of the parents to a new standard, which becomes a new center of variability. In the case of variability the offspring tend to approach nearer the group average than do the immediate parents. In the case of mutations the offspring desert the old group average and establish a new average—approximately that of the immediate parents. The appearance of a mutant thus indicates the beginning of a new species or at least a modification of an old species.

A person who is a born genius may be a mutant in the biological sense. At any rate the appearance of born geniuses is as little explained as the genesis of biological mutants. It may be noted that born geniuses seem to be born as frequently in the hovel as in the palace, and of poor parents as among the wealthy.

2. *Organic and Social Evolution.* The discussion of heredity and variation has illustrated another biological law, that of evolution. The adult evolves from the child and the child from the infant, and the latter from the union of two germ cells. Complex forms of life evolve from simpler

life forms. The process is baffling to science, and accompanied by an infinite number of changes and creations, revealing the miraculous work of nature and God.

Evolutionary explanations account for the grossly animal elements in human nature; they lead back not only to animal but to mechanistic and materialistic explanations. They do not explain the continual introduction of new elements, of spiritual creation, or of idealistic factors.

Biological evolution has revealed not only some of the laws of heredity and variation, but has made clear the nature of the struggle for existence and of the law of the survival of the fittest. It has shown how nature has often exercised a harsh and rigorous hand, awarding the prizes of life to the physically strongest and the psychically shrewdest.

Biological evolution also reveals the law of co-operation. Individuals who co-operate well have a survival advantage. Animals who co-operate best have the best chance of survival. Group life itself is therefore advantageous; the "fittest to survive" may be those who co-operate well. The "fittest to survive" however may be the most brutal and selfish among the lower forms of life; but an evolution in method, from selfish contention to socialized co-operation, changes the operation of the "fittest to survive" principle.

Biological evolution is paralleled by group or so-

cial evolution. On the lowest plane, groups contend with one another selfishly and destructively. Groups with low standards seek to gain control of other groups for selfish advantage. They are shrewd and deceitful in dealing with one another. They rush at each other, as two villains with murder in their eyes.

As they evolve, they develop co-operative habits, learn to respect each other's virtues, and to heed an authority higher than each. The nation groups of the world today are struggling toward the establishment of a higher world authority, of laws of arbitration, and of a world community spirit. The group once best fit to survive was the brutal and deceitful; the group of the future best fit to survive will be the one whose members respect the authority of a large group consciousness.

3. *Vitality and Eugenic Control.* With the increasing knowledge of the laws of heredity, variation, and evolution, scientists such as Burbank have developed highly modified forms of plant and animal life. In recent years the study of the laws of inheritance in the human realm has produced significant results. This new movement is known as Eugenics, a science which was initiated in England by Francis Galton a few decades ago. As the term eugenics implies the science aims to work out a program whereby every child may be well born. The

science endeavors to develop the principles of heredity in their application to human life.

One eugenic method is to discourage by educational and legal means the marriage of persons who are unfit physically and mentally. The aim is to prevent unworthy parenthood. It is planned to segregate feeble-minded men and women by sexes in public institutions and thus to prevent them from reproducing their kind. It is also planned to forbid the marriage of those persons whose health is below a certain standard. In line with this idea some members of the clergy have announced that they would unite in marriage only those persons who produced health certificates from a reputable physician. In this connection it may be added that it is within the power of the government to raise by degrees the standards of health demanded of those who desire a license to marry. Thus the eugenicist hopes to secure a more healthy race of men and women.

A second and more constructive method is to establish in public opinion new and higher standards concerning marriage. At present, attractions such as wealth or titles or social positions too often determine marriage. If a marriageable person is wealthy, he is considered highly desirable—irrespective of possible physical and moral leprosy. The eugenicist urges that a sound physique and heredity be ranked first, and wealth, or social position sec-

ond. Wealth without health is an entirely false marriage attraction.

Thus sound heredity, high vitality, and excellent health are emphasized as more fundamental marriage attractions than titles or other forms of social distinction. The eugenicist asks that young people from childhood shall be trained to regard high vitality and dependable health as first essentials in an ideal man or woman. If this belief becomes widely accepted, then it will determine even personal fancy and "falling in love." The aim is not to eliminate falling in love, but to put it upon a new level of vitality, heredity, and health. Thus would the eugenicist contribute to the advancement of the human race.

Preventive eugenics is a term which has been used to specify measures to protect parenthood from racial poisons. Alcohol is a poison which seems to affect the generative organs and especially the germ cell life. By preventing alcoholism through legislation it is possible to safeguard the nation from a so-called racial poison. Tuberculosis is considered another racial poison. The tubercle bacilli, by weakening the human organism in millions of cases, indirectly are weakening and destructive in their effects upon germ plasm strength. Venereal diseases, such as syphilis and gonorrhea, directly attack the female generative organs causing sterility as well as untold suffering, and hence may be considered

racially disastrous.

All factors which cut down the birth rate unduly, undermine parenthood, or otherwise prevent the birth and development of physically and mentally perfect individuals are called dysgenic. These dysgenic elements may be overcome by human understanding, prevision, and control. Through negative eugenics, positive eugenics, and preventive eugenics, supported by an adequate public health control, it is possible for human groups to develop their biological or life-giving qualities, to their sturdiest, most energetic, and richest possibilities.

4. *Vitality and Public Health Control.* The various forms of animal life are in continual combat. The larger, more powerful, and higher developed live upon the lower forms. All feed upon plant life; even man secures his food from eating animals and plants. Moreover through his superior mental control man cultivates special forms of plant life, and fattens certain forms of animal life for his own survival purposes.

The combat also operates parasitically, that is, countless millions of simple animal or plant organisms invade a higher organism and live within it, perhaps destroying it; while other parasitic forms of life are engaged in decomposing and putrefactive activities. From birth every individual must maintain a constant fight against the invasion into his

organism of pathogenic bacteria. Human beings not only prey upon one another by open warfare or gun play but also by subtle means, such as the maintenance for profit of unhealthful and disease-ridden tenements. They are also preyed upon by disease-producing bacteria to such an extent that human diseases have been described as being largely struggles between forms of life, that is, between human life and microscopic life.

Of those persons who are ordinarily considered well born, a large percentage possess some defects of bodily structure which sooner or later are manifested in low vital resistance, weak lungs, weak kidneys, a weak digestive apparatus, a weak heart, and the like. A person must also guard himself and be guarded from subtle poisons, overfatigue, and physical accident. The environment is lurking with hidden dangers to the health and vitality of individuals, and hence to group life. In this era therefore of the ravages of bacterial diseases, of contamination by poisons, of destruction by accidents and wars, and of inherited bodily defects, many persons need public defense. Certain diseases, such as tuberculosis, malaria, typhoid fever, yellow fever are acquired by the individual despite his vigilance. Some diseases can be handled successfully only by action on the part of the entire group, that is, by public action. This need has led to public health control.

In our complex civilization we cannot be sure

that each individual will be careful of the health of other persons. People live so close together and in such huddled groups in the large cities that the sickness of one person may be easily communicated to others. By adulterating foods one person may be criminally careless of the health of other persons, but since the consumers may be strangers to him or live in distant cities, he feels no special responsibility for their health. Hence it has become necessary for the city, state, and nation to pass laws compelling people to live up to certain health standards, not so much for their own welfare, as for the welfare of other persons.

Public health control is based upon many factors, but the chief is perhaps a knowledge of bacterial life. Bacteria may be divided into three classes: those which are helpful to human life, such as the bacteria which causes dough to rise or cheese to ripen; those which cause decomposition; and those which are disease-producing.

The last-mentioned or pathogenic bacteria are usually shaped like a stick, are spherical, or are spiral. The first group are the most numerous; they are called bacilli. The tubercle bacilli are of this kind. The second group, spherical in shape, are called cocci, and are represented by the bacteria which produce pneumonia. The third group, spiral in form, are named spirilla, and are represented by the bacteria which cause cholera.

In size bacteria are very small. Those which cause anthrax are about 1-8000th of an inch in length; while those which produce influenza are about 1-80,000th of an inch long. A single drop of water may contain hundreds of thousands and even millions of bacteria. It has been estimated that in a space occupied by a grain of sugar, 600,000,000 bacteria might be packed and each be comfortable.

Bacteria thrive best in a warm temperature. They increase most rapidly at about the temperature of the human body; they are less sensitive to cold than to heat. Almost all the harmful types of bacteria are killed upon being exposed to a temperature of 150 degrees F. for thirty minutes, but bacteria such as typhoid and diphtheria bacilli have been exposed for days to the temperature of liquid air, that is, about 390 degrees below zero F., without having their vitality destroyed. At a low temperature bacteria reproduce slowly, if at all; but at a temperature from 70 degrees to 100 degrees F., they reproduce very rapidly. They multiply by cell division; at the proper temperature certain bacteria cells divide into two cells every hour. At this rate the descendants of a single cell at the end of a single day would number far above a million; at the close of two days, they would number 50,000,000,000,000. It makes a difference therefore whether milk is kept at a low temperature or allowed to stand in a warm place, especially if it contains pathogenic bacteria.

Plagues, pestilences, and epidemics are the most striking phenomena affecting public health. In 1892, the wealthy city of Hamburg was terrorized by a severe cholera epidemic. More recently, Ithaca, New York, and other cities were ravaged by typhoid fever. Savages attributed plagues and epidemics of disease to evil spirits, and even for civilized peoples, epidemics have often been mysterious in origin. They are now known, however, to be outbreaks of disease caused by bacteria. It is not the disease, but the parasitic microbe which is "catching." Epidemics may occur when the water supply, the milk supply, or the food supply becomes contaminated by the presence of pathogenic bacteria.

Typhoid fever epidemics are caused by the typhoid bacillus, which was discovered by Koch about 1879. The bacilli are taken into the human organism usually through drinking water which has been contaminated by sewage containing the microbes, through drinking milk contaminated perhaps by the dirty hands of unclean milkers, or through eating raw oysters which have been growing in places where city sewage has been emptied. Diphtheria bacilli find lodgment in the throats of susceptible persons, where they multiply and secrete meanwhile a poisonous substance, or toxin, which circulates through the body, causing death unless counteracted.

In 1880, the cause of malaria, the most important

of diseases affecting tropical peoples, was discovered. In 1899, the further discovery was made that malarial microbes are transmitted from victim to victim through the bite of the anopheles mosquito, in whose bodies the bacteria live a cycle of their lives. By public action the anopheles mosquito may be eliminated, and human beings freed from malaria. Yellow fever, greatly dreaded in the Tropics, is now attributed to a microbe that is conveyed by the stegomyia mosquito. Only group action can stamp out yellow fever.

In the case of smallpox and similar diseases which are spectacular in their development and quickly fatal, the public has safeguarded its members through quarantine measures. In slowly developing diseases, such as tuberculosis, the public however has been woefully slow in protecting individuals.

The cause of tuberculosis has been known since 1882 when the tubercle bacillus was discovered. This bacillus may find its way into the lungs and there multiply until its host succumbs. Tuberculosis is no longer considered an inherited disease. Some persons through inheritance may possess a set of weaker membranes of the lungs or a lower vital resistance than do other persons, and hence more easily become victims of tuberculosis than others. No one can develop tuberculosis unless the bacillus gets into his organism from the outside. By

destroying the bacillus it is possible to banish the dread disease itself. Tuberculosis is now known to be non-inheritable, curable if taken charge of in the early stages, and preventable.

We have enough knowledge concerning causes to crush out tuberculosis by group action, and we also know the methods necessary to make this knowledge effective. We have had this knowledge and have known these methods for several years. In spite of these truths, tuberculosis causes as many deaths perhaps as any other disease, in fact, it probably heads the list of diseases in civilized countries. In the United States it causes perhaps one-eighth of all deaths of adults. A tuberculosis mortality list of 150,000 individuals a year in the United States is a deplorable sacrifice to an entirely preventable disease—preventable by group action.

On the average, tuberculosis leads to the death of individuals at about thirty-five years of age, at an age which is at the center of productive activity, economically, of almost all persons, at an age which cuts off on the average twenty years of productive usefulness. The economic cost of the sickness produced annually by tuberculosis in the United States has been estimated at \$300,000,000. Furthermore, perhaps thirty per cent of all the dependency in the large cities of the United States is due to tuberculosis.

The largest number of deaths by tuberculosis oc-

curs among tenement dwellers and factory employees. The map of a city which shows the location of the tuberculosis cases is similar in appearance to a map of that city showing the inadequate housing conditions. Houses with dark rooms and with poorly ventilated bedrooms, furnish breeding places for tubercle bacilli. With the increase of poor housing conditions, tubercle bacilli rapidly multiply.

The workers in factories and mills who are breathing fine particles of dust are likely to suffer laceration of the lungs, a condition which makes invasion by tubercle bacilli an easy matter. Since leaning over desks all day cramps the lungs, bookkeepers and persons similarly engaged are susceptible. An indoor life and closed houses have kept people away from bacteria-killing sunshine and in with disease-producing microbes.

Why is a disease which is known to be preventable still so prevalent? No one wishes to acquire the disease, and yet all are in danger. The reason for the widespread existence of tuberculosis is because the treatment of it has been left so largely to individuals. Community action could overcome the disease in a short time. If the United States government were to proceed against tuberculosis in this country in the organized way that it moved against typhoid fever in the Canal Zone some years ago under the direction of General William C. Gor-

gas, tuberculosis would soon become unknown.

Public health control requires the fulfillment of human needs for pure air, pure milk, pure water, and pure food. The pure air question is an urban problem. Mountain or sea air is purest, but the air that is breathed in cities, especially in libraries, in closed houses, in assembly rooms is likely to be permeated by pathogenic bacteria. Houses that are built with dark rooms, that is, rooms that have no windows opening to the outside air, are especially dangerous.

From the city's chimneys, especially of factories and the smokestacks of engines, there emanates clouds of smoke, shadowing continuously thousands and millions of people. To those persons living in urban communities where soft coal is consumed in vast quantities, life comes to be "an existence in a gray, blackened world." The pall of smoke covers walls and pavements, enters houses and places of business; the small particles of soot penetrate the lungs until the tissues become streaked and spotted. The proper ventilation of houses becomes impossible. Fresh air and sunshine are shut out; disease-producing germs are shut in, and multiply rapidly. Tubercle bacilli become impregnably established in houses where doors and windows are kept closed against the smoke nuisance.

Human beings have been called sun animals, while pathogenic bacteria flourish in dirt, dust, and

darkness. Public interest and control can guarantee to every pallid, weary industrial worker of the city the boon of pure air and of the disease-killing sunshine of heaven.

There is a close relation between the quality and condition of milk fed to children and the death and sickness rates. Milk being opaque may harbor quantities of unnoticed filth and dirt. Moreover, milk gives a home to the disease-producing bacteria which are the immediate causes of the serious digestive troubles of children, of cholera infantum, also typhoid, diphtheria, and similar diseases which attack adults as well as children. Group control may be expressed through measures insuring cleanliness and low temperature in the handling of the milk supply. Upon pure milk the lives of children depend; the need for a pure milk supply especially for the children in cities is a call to a new crusade in behalf of child welfare.

A drinking water supply comes from surface water and ground water. Almost all cities rely largely on the former, which as it flows along is subject to contamination. Numerous epidemics are likely to result; the typhoid fever rate in a given city is closely related to the quality of public health control, especially with reference to the water supply.

Public health control includes safeguarding the food supply. The incoming of the city's food has been described by Hollis Godfrey as a wonderful

pageant. Wheat trains rushing from the wide horizon of the West; fishing schooners tacking up from off the banks; refrigerator cars hastening across the continent, laden with the best from a thousand herds; hightopped trucks driven by motor power, looming in over the country roads in the freshness of the earliest dawn; crates filled with golden oranges, with luscious peaches, with heavy-hanging grapes, hastening cityward: all this inrushing, converging evidence of nature's bounty offers a wide breadth of thought, a feeling of greatness, a sense of pride in this rich country in which we live.

This gorgeous picture however does not disclose the fact that foods are exposed to destructive agencies from the time that they leave their place of origin to the time that they reach the table. The foes are of two kinds: natural and unnatural, the forces of nature and the desires of greedy or ignorant men. The natural enemies of food preservation are the bacteria which cause decomposition; and the unnatural ones are men who deliberately sell decomposed food, who use harmful preservatives, and who resort to injurious adulteration. City venders of fruit and other forms of food often use filthy rooms alive with tubercle bacilli, as storerooms; they are themselves sometimes infected with disease germs.

One of the problems in securing adequate public health control is illustrated by the difficulties involved in the passage of the Pure Food and Drugs

Act in 1906 by the Congress of the United States. At every session of Congress for ten years preceding 1906 the opposition from the large manufacturing interests to the pure food act was powerful enough to defeat its passage. In fact in order to secure its passage at all its friends had to make serious compromises with the opposing interests. Moreover, unscrupulous manufacturers have been able to deceive the public, and escape punishment.

The federal law in this country applies only to food supplies that are made in one state and shipped into other states. The traffic in food supplies of any state in the United States must be regulated by each state government. Multiply the difficulties of the nation by forty-eight, and some idea will be gained of the problems of securing pure food. Moreover, every city has its local problems of safeguarding food. The public control of this situation rests ultimately upon group opinion. The guardians of pure food, it may be summarized, are guardians of human life.

The quality of life forces vary in different human beings. Professors George Hansen and F. H. Giddings have divided people into three vitality classes. (1) Low vitality persons include those persons, as a rule, whose birth rate and death rate are high, whose physical and mental defectiveness is relatively high, whose vital resistance is low, and whose knowledge of personal and public hygiene measures is scanty.

They include the poorer wage-earners in the overcrowded districts of large cities.

(2) Medium vitality people are those whose birth rate and death rate are both low, whose intelligence is high, whose vital resistance has been worn down by the countless demands of modern city life, and whose lives are often thus prematurely cut short. The professional classes represent this type.

(3) High vitality people are those who have been well born, without mental and physical defects; who have a fairly high birth rate and a low death rate; and who live where the environment is favorable. The rural land-owning classes illustrate this group.

Eugenic and public health control have their best friend in education. Through education people may learn what they can do in order to develop themselves toward high vitality, and at the same time guarantee a splendid physical start in life to the next generation. The improvement of environmental conditions through public health control is necessary in order that an eugenic racial stock may be built up, safeguarded, stimulated, and enabled to function fully. Through eugenic and public health procedure individuals and groups alike may grow in stature, and in physical and mental quality.

PROBLEMS

1. In what way is heredity more important than environment?
2. How is environment more important than heredity?
3. Classify as to cause, whether primarily hereditary or environmental: (a) race prejudice, (b) Italian interest in art, (c) a child's fear of the dark, (d) Japanese politeness, (e) a rosy complexion.
4. What important contribution to socio-biologic knowledge was made by: (a) Mendel, (b) de Vries, (c) Weismann, (d) Galton.
5. What is eugenics?
6. In what ways is society wasteful of its born geniuses?
7. Who suffers the more from adulterated foods, the well nourished or the undernourished?
8. Explain: "Man is the sickest animal alive."
9. Explain the statement that although the death rate has declined in recent years, the race is less vigorous than formerly.
10. What are the arguments for a national department of health?
11. What are the objections to such a department?
12. "Why does the United States appropriate so much more money for the health of animals than for the health of human beings?"
13. Is it the work of a physician to cure or to keep people well?
14. Explain the statement that man is an outdoor animal.
15. Why is the prevention of tuberculosis distinctly a social problem?
16. What is meant by the term, vital statistics?
17. What obligations does your health place upon you with reference to the health of others?

CHAPTER IV.

GROUPS AND PSYCHOLOGIC FACTORS

THE HIGHEST PHASE of biological inheritance is the psychical nature, especially in its social phases. The original nature of man is comprised of complex elements, such as instinctive-emotional tendencies. Other psychical factors, with sociological implications, include habitual and conscious reactions, imitation and invention, communication and gregariousness.

1. *Instinctive-emotional Tendencies.* Every person begins life with instinctive impulses, that is, with inborn psychic tendencies biologically transmitted. A specific sense impression releases a definite mode of behavior, which is the same in all members of the species.

Instinctive tendencies represent ways of acting which have been the most successful in the past. They result in modes of behavior that promote either the welfare of the individual, such as the self-preservation impulses; the continuance of the group, such as the sex impulses; or the welfare of the group, such as the gregarious impulses. The

instinctive tendencies include the self-preservation, the self-assertive, and creative responses, as well as the inquisitive, acquisitive, and combative responses and the sex and parental, gregarious, and play responses.

The instinctive-emotional factors, as well as habitual and acquired reactions, may be better understood if viewed in terms of "drives" and "mechanisms," which have been analyzed by R. S. Woodworth. Mechanisms are innate or acquired neural-motor ways of responding to stimuli. Drives are factors which release a mechanism; they range from external stimuli to inner motives.

All that the individual does or thinks is built upon instinctive mechanisms. There is a sense in which social institutions are super-structures, built upon instinctive traits; the family, for example, rests upon sex, parental, and gregarious impulses. Inquisitiveness leads to invention and discovery; it is the driving force of learning; it is a strong psychological element in all pure forms of research and advanced intellectual activity. Acquisitiveness explains psychologically many of the wealth-getting activities of man as well as the growth of the institution of private property. The play drives and mechanisms are basic factors in the recent development of social institutions for meeting the recreational needs of man. Gregariousness leads to neighborhood, community, and national group life. All

the human groups which will be studied in Part II of this book are indebted to the instinctive tendencies in human nature. The family, play, occupational, school, church, and community groupings are a result in part of instinctive-emotional drives and mechanisms.

Closely connected with the instincts are the feelings. They represent the tone of the organism, and evaluate activities on the basis of past racial and individual experience. The mention of a given activity to an individual produces a pleasant feeling or an unpleasant tone of consciousness, according to the nature of the individual's experience in that particular.

Instinctive reactions are accompanied not only by feeling tones, but also by emotional discharges. An emotion appears to be a complex of feeling and sensation which accompanies instinctive and other activities. Certain emotions function in energizing the individual, such as the emotion of anger; some cause his personality to expand, such as the emotion of joy; others tend to secure protection, such as the emotion of fear; and others lead individuals out into activities of the highest personal and group usefulness, such as the emotion of love.

Sympathetic emotion is a powerful socializing force. When one has sympathy for another person, he can put himself in the other's place and obtain the other's point of view—an exercise which is es-

sential to the development of a socialized person, and in solving many group problems, such as the controversies between labor and capital.

A large emotional element is usually expressed through suggestibility, a general innate tendency which causes people to respond to other people's feelings, ideas, and actions. Children are highly suggestible; they lack knowledge and organization of the knowledge which they possess. As a result of their suggestibility children are subject to the direction of their elders; they acquire rapidly the traditional attitudes of their elders and their groups.

2. *Habitual and Conscious Reactions.* On the basis of instinctive-feeling tendencies the individual begins life, but the group environment however presents so many new problems that the individual is unable to cope with them instinctively. More or less conscious attention is directed to making necessary adjustments. Attention leads to new types of behavior. These new expressions if repeated several times become habitual reactions. They become habits. They are modifications of instinctive reactions or of previously formed habits. When a problem is solved, a new way of acting has been discovered and perhaps reduced to an habitual reaction, and attention is free to take up the solution of other problems.

The only reliable person is he who has established

a number of well organized habits. The only person who is honest is he who is honest by habit. When a person raises the question whether or not he will be honest, he cannot be trusted; the person who is trustworthy is he who is habitually honest. Another illustration of the point that group structures are based upon the foundation of well formed habits in individuals is found in the fact that modern credit associations depend upon honesty which is habitual. As soon as mutual confidence breaks, a financial crisis is likely to ensue. Conscious reactions occur thus when instinctive or habitual tendencies fail to meet a new problem. An obstacle creates a crisis; attention is centered upon the obstacle; and a new habit-organization results.

The cognitive phase of conscious reactions evaluates activities with reference to the present and future; the instinctive-feeling impulses have already performed this service with reference to past experience. Reason is the highest phase of cognition; it can evaluate life factors that are present in neither time nor space; it can often transform environmental conditions; and can lead to new and richer levels of group life.

All the scientific inventions of the past, all the development of the arts, all the human control over nature are largely the product of reason. It is to be hoped that man will in time, through reasoning, be able to master his social and spiritual environ-

ment as he has overcome to a degree his physical environment.

The volitional phase of conscious reactions is the choosing element. Each organism may be considered as a more or less independent center of activity. It is not entirely subject to its heredity or its environment; it has the power in itself of making choices and carrying them into action. If each organism had to respond to all stimuli which it receives, it would soon be shattered neurologically.

As a result of the choosing phase of conscious reactions, a person is not wholly a machine. He has a margin of freedom—a margin which varies with different persons and environments. This margin dwindles when a person's health breaks, when poverty increases, or when an atmosphere of vicious and criminal attitudes develops. It is far more difficult for a person who has been reared in an environment of extreme want, vice, and crime to live a social, constructive life than it is for one who is trained in an environment of love, good will, and group interest.

3. *Imitation and Invention.* Another tendency, somewhat instinctive in character is imitation, a process that is based on the fact that like stimuli produce like responses, and that individuals are equipped with similar drives and mechanisms. Imitations may be defined as the unconscious or con-

scious copying primarily of the actions of other individuals; the process may also extend to the copying of the ideas of others.

The child obtains the mass of his attitudes, ideals, and purposes by imitating unconsciously and consciously the copies that are set before him in his family, play, neighborhood, school, religious and other groups. So rapidly do the imitative processes operate, that by the time the seventh or eighth year is reached, the foundation lines of the child's moral and social character are laid. An individual is very imitative in the early years of life when his stock of ideas is small and his means of criticism are scanty.

It is by imitation that each generation takes up and makes its own the traditions and customs of the preceding generation. The imitative processes preserve the continuity of ideas and of the social environment. They are vital conserving factors in group life.

In the human species there is a far greater percentage of custom imitation than among animals. The offspring of animals are well equipped at birth with instinctive ways of acting; they are thrown upon their own resources relatively early in life. Hence there is little chance for imitation of parents.

Unfortunately, there is a strong tendency for ways of doing and believing to operate in the form of custom long after their original meaning has been

forgotten, and long after their usefulness has ended. Note the American veneration oftentimes for a common law which is at variance with current industrial needs. A deference is shown on occasion for certain traditional aspects of the law which exhibit too great concern for the powerful individual and too little respect for the needs of the weaker group members.

Custom imitation, as pointed out by Gabriel Tarde and E. A. Ross, is favored by psychical and social isolation. Geographic and social barriers shut out new stimuli; they prohibit contacts with the advanced ideas and methods of the day. In the isolated sections even of civilized countries, there survive clannishness, patriarchal authority, narrow religious dogmatism, and illiteracy.

A Chinese saying reads: I approach my elder brother with respect, my father and mother with veneration, my grandfather with awe. To ancestor worship with its emphasis upon the past, the phenomenal stability of China is partly to be credited. All human groups, in fact, rely upon custom imitation for stability. If it were not for custom imitation, no human group would possess permanence. Where custom imitation prevails, there is danger from too much conservatism. Custom imitation tends to preserve beliefs too long; it stifles thought. As a result of custom imitation, many persons accept beliefs uncritically.

Then there is fashion imitation. As the former is a borrowing from ancestors and predecessors, the latter is a copying of contemporaries. The reading of newspapers and magazines favors fashion imitation, and on the whole creates contacts with the present rather than with the past. In penetrating remote districts the railroads assist in extending new ideas and methods. Travel and migration result in attitudes of mind that favor the new as opposed to the old. Freedom of discussion breaks the spell of custom imitation, and forward-looking schools and educational systems deliver the young from prejudices and customs that are no longer useful. Reactionary school systems of course favor traditionalism and the past.

In the United States many forces have operated in favor of fashion. American individualism has stimulated the immigrant to break away from Old World traditions, and to violate the wishes of priests, padrones, and other natural upholders of the past. The spirit of progress in the United States has left little room for reverence for antiquity. The World War however left a strong reactionary current in its wake, which indicates that the United States is showing signs of age, even in its youth.

The main law of fashion imitation is that the persons or ideas which are rated as superior are imitated by persons who are rated inferior. The corollaries naturally follow, namely, that the wealthy

are imitated by the poor, seniors by freshmen, statesmen and politicians by citizens.

People have been classified according to their attitudes toward fashion. (1) There are the designers and fashion-show merchants. (2) There are the pace-setters, that is, the persons who adopt a new fashion as soon as it is put on the market. As soon as any fashion is somewhat widely adopted, the pace-setter adopts a new fashion and thus the process continues. (3) There are the people who adopt a fashion promptly so as to be taken for the pace-setters. (4) Another group are those who imitate a new fashion somewhat belatedly and in modified forms in order to avoid being conspicuous. (5) There are those who never conform.

Rational imitation refers to the copying of actions and particularly of ideas which are useful. As a high percentage of customs still serve useful purposes, a large portion of custom imitation is rational. Since only a small proportion of fashions are useful, a great deal of fashion imitation is irrational.

Custom imitation, fashion imitation, and merit imitation each prevails in respective sections of the lives of individuals and groups. Custom imitation obtains in matters of feeling, ritual, language; fashion imitation rules in questions of dress and amusements; and merit or rational imitation controls in business and science.

Out of the original nature of man there arises in-

ventive ability. While representing a combination of specific inherited qualities, each individual also possesses new traits. His original nature is not entirely a repetition of past tendencies; he is characterized by special talents, or at least by an ability to see new relationships. This inventiveness has its sources in human energy, physical and mental. The concentration of energy, particularly of mental energy, for any length of time in a given direction, gives an individual a superior advantage over his fellows, enables him to see farther in specific directions, and to discover unsuspected relationships, which is the essence of invention.

It probably is as natural to invent as to imitate, although the latter process is far easier. Inventing is defying the ordinary currents of life while imitating is drifting, or acting like other persons because of having been built that way. Invention is largely a process of trial and error in seeking new mental goals; imitation is following established responses.

Every person has inventive ability enough to be able to contribute to group progress. This ability is rarely developed; it is rarely stimulated to any degree. The schools stress copying, the following of standards, and accepting established thought. It is often only by accident that inventive ability is discovered, stimulated, and set at work.

The need for applying inventiveness in the spirit-

ual realms is greater than in the field of mechanical appliances. Human mastery of the physical has exceeded the control of the spiritual. Special talent and genius have been applied in the field of mechanical inventions until the material world has come to control man's attention. These inventions have made life so comfortable and have produced so many luxuries that people have sometimes been lulled into inertia and decay.

Special talent and genius represent a natural concentration of inventive ability. In the original nature of man there is often found highly focalized expressions of artistic, mathematical, or other forms of ability. The appearance of talent and genius in any given individual is difficult to explain. The biological mutant or sport appears unexpectedly. The human genius likewise cannot be forecasted; he is as likely to be born in the tenements as in the mansion. Society however is wasteful of the geniuses born of poor parents; it needs to assist the less fortunate members of society in obtaining training facilities, so that society may have full benefit of the potential ability of its members.

4. *Communication and Gregariousness.* Human beings respond similarly to like stimuli; their psychological organisms are alike in inner drives and mechanisms. The fact that individuals react to stimuli in similar ways explains their common types of be-

havior, and enables them to survive in the struggle for existence. This common nature is the basis of communication and gregariousness, as well as the basis of imitative reactions.

The sentinel members of a flock of wild geese give a warning cry which secures an automatic response on the part of all members of the group, a response which produces prompt flight. If this cry did not cause a quick, automatic reaction, the group would not long survive. In the higher animal world a set of cries, calls, and other symbols together with appropriate mechanistic responses guarantee group life. With human beings these symbols and gestures result in a consciousness of meaning, language, and the establishment of social relationships.

One primitive man struggling alone with an ugly lion is lost, but ten men by co-operating can trap and destroy the beast. A common means of communication enables the men to work together advantageously and accomplish their purpose.

Means of communication are first set up between parent and offspring. The human mother can recognize a half dozen different cries on the part of her infant. From these simple sounds, language develops. At maturity, the individual may have acquired a vocabulary ranging from two thousand to ten thousand words, besides a large number of different inflections of the voice and numerous silent symbol forms, such as facial gestures, and gestures

of the hands, arms, shoulders and even of the body. A symbol and an elementary consciousness of meaning constitute human language. By means of a well organized method of communication, human groups may stimulate their members into well-rounded, useful personalities; they may also develop complex organizations among themselves.

In its simplest form communication is characterized by reflex, feeling, and instinctive elements, operating an elaborate set of drives and mechanisms. The angry tone of voice produces a response of angry feeling. Only in the higher fields of personal control are individuals able to overcome these elemental factors of communication, and thus prevent themselves from shrinking to animal levels of communicative behavior.

Higher animals have fostered elemental ways of communication; mankind has gone farther, producing alphabets and literatures. Language is not distinctly a product of the human mind, but its development has been pushed to high levels among human beings as a result of their elaborate group activities and needs.

Language is a conversation of attitudes and appropriate responses. It is a conversation of gestures of the hands, shoulders, face, and vocal apparatus. Gestures are either pantomimic, facial, or vocal: pantomimic are gestures chiefly of the hands and shoulders; facial refer to the expressions about the

eyes and mouth; and vocal gestures include spoken language. Each gesture stands for a whole act; each is the beginning of an act. As soon as its meaning is clear and an appropriate response in the form of another gesture is made, it is changed. Thus communication takes place: silently, if pantomimic and facial; audibly, if vocal.

The development of communication by spoken language is a fascinating field of study. Methods of communication by writing have also undergone marvelous changes. These were first (1) mnemonic, or memory-aiding; some tangible object is used as a message, or for record, between people who are separated. (2) The pictorial stage was that in which a picture of the object under consideration is given; at a glance its story is revealed. (3) The ideographic stage, as the name implies, was that in which the pictures become representative; they are not pictures, but symbols. (4) The phonetic stage is that in which a sound-sign is given for a whole word, for each syllable, or for each letter—this last development may be called a fifth (5) or the alphabetic stage of communication.

The alphabet is built on the principle that the sign as an eye picture suggests the sound, independent of the meaning of the sound. It was very long after man appeared on earth that it dawned upon him that all the words people utter are expressed by a few sounds. It was in this discovery

that an elaborate though simple system of communication became possible. When constant signs were chosen to represent constant sounds the progress of mankind was assured. This step constituted the invention of the alphabet, one of the momentous triumphs of the human mind. Only thereby was the preservation of all that is worth while in group and personal experience made possible; only so could educational systems develop.

Over two hundred alphabets have been invented, but less than fifty have survived. India was the center of alphabet manufacture. The chief alphabets today are the Chinese, Arabic, and Roman. The latter is the vehicle of the culture of Western civilization, and is extending its influence.

As a means of making communication accurate, numeral systems were invented. A debt of inexpressible magnitude is due those unknown and unhonored individuals who first made the cipher and the nine numerals of the Arabic system. The greatest admiration is due him who invented the cipher, for without it modern business transactions, transportation, and many other forms of communication would be impossible.

Communication thus originates in inarticulate cries, and elemental symbols and meanings, in drives and mechanisms; it develops as a result of group life and needs into complicated literatures.

Gregariousness is closely related to communica-

tion; gregarious responses are made because of similar neurological structure and functional nature, particularly on the feeling side. Organisms being functionally alike respond mechanistically alike to the same stimulus. In its simplicity gregariousness implies none of the higher attributes of mind. Among animals it manifests itself in a strong uneasiness in isolation and a sense of satisfaction in being one of a group. The classic illustration of gregariousness is that of the ox which shows no affection for his fellows so long as he is among them, but when the herd becomes separated from him he displays extreme distress until he is able to rejoin the group.

Gregariousness is usually confirmed by habit. Offspring are born into a group and grow up in a group. To live with others accentuates the strength of the gregarious tendency and expands its manifestation. Solitary punishment is regarded by many persons as a mode of torture too cruel and unnatural to be longer practiced. For the normal person to be forced to be alone for any length of time is great torture. It is true that for everyone except a few more or less highly cultivated persons, the primary condition for recreation is to be a member of a crowd. For every person who goes to the mountains for a vacation there are hundreds who frequent the beaches where the crowds are to be found. The normal daily recreation of the popula-

tion of the towns and smaller cities is that of walking up and down the streets where the throng is densest. The normal recreation for rural and urban people alike on a holiday is that of rushing to the places where the crowds are in control.

To an extent the gregarious instinct marks off the differences between species and races. It also helps to determine the nature of innumerable forms of social alliances. An individual's conduct toward those persons whom he feels to be like himself is instinctively and rationally different from his conduct toward the persons whose actions are strange.

In early times when population traditions were small the gregarious instinct played an important part in social evolution, because it kept people together who despite a common set of group traditions might have drifted apart and been lost. This group life occasioned the needs for laws and group institutions. It also provided the conditions of aggregation in which alone the higher development of social qualities became possible.

While original nature in qualities and expressions varies, yet it has been demonstrated that there is a common unity in human minds, irrespective of geographic, biologic, and psychologic differences. To certain stimuli, the human mind everywhere reacts similarly. In potential mental ability, races manifest resemblances. The fact that one race has advanced further than another is no proof of its su-

perior psychical ability ; it has probably had a more favorable environment and has reaped the advantage of cultural momentum, a point which will be considered more at length in the chapter on Racial Groups. From a consideration of the socio-psychical nature of man we now turn to present the Sociologic Factors.

PROBLEMS

1. What are the differences between instinctive and habitual reactions?
2. Why are women as a rule more sympathetic than men?
3. Do you invent much?
4. Is the potential mental ability of all races more or less equal?
5. Why are people gregarious?
6. What is selfish sociability?
7. Why does an elderly person often talk aloud to himself?
8. What is essential in order that there may be communication between individuals?
9. Are nations gregarious?
10. What is needed for the development of complete communication between all racial and national groups in the world?

CHAPTER V

GROUPS AND SOCIOLOGIC FACTORS

SOCIOLOGIC FACTORS are those which arise out of social situations. They are to be distinguished from physical and geographic factors which are purely objective. They are not the same as the biologic and psychologic factors, for these are inherited. They spring from the associative life, but are psychological and even biological in origin. The sociologic factors which will be presented here are first the social attitudes and values, then the social processes, and finally the highest social processes of all, socialization and social control.

1. *Social Attitudes and Values.* An attitude is a tendency to act, and a social attitude is a tendency to act with reference to some phase of associative life. Social attitudes are expressed by individuals with reference to values or phases of the social environment toward which individuals are attracted.

The social attitudes arise from original human nature and also in social heritage and in group stimulation. Drives and mechanisms represent the technique by which social attitudes are expressed. Emotional reactions and sentiments, dispositions

and temperaments must also be understood if one would penetrate the psychic backgrounds of social attitudes. The human desires, wishes, and beliefs are also generic to social attitudes. Wishes may originate chiefly in psychological needs, but beliefs are noticeably social in their development. A reference to beliefs leads directly to the field of social heritage and group stimulation.

A child's attitudes are determined generally by the customary beliefs of parents, teachers, clergy, and other representatives of group thinking. In the social heritage are found many ideas which become objects of value, and hence generate social attitudes. In the religious heritage are ideas of immortality, brotherhood of man, service, and personal contact with God—all of which are values that create attitudes. In the political heritage are ideas of national achievement and greatness which fascinate the human mind and stimulate specific attitudes.

Public opinion creates values, which in turn arouse attitudes. Favorable opinion gives prestige; that which opinion favors is reputable. Opinion attracts attention to specific principles, procedures, and persons; to the extent that it approves, whole floods of values inundate the minds of individuals. Only here and there a person is critical enough to view with his full reason the values that the group establishes through its unscientific assumptions. Only occasionally does a person discover that the

scornful estimate of group opinion may be expressed irrationally. In the long run however public opinion frees itself from blind emotional reflexes and roughly represents a common sense judgment. In a later chapter public opinion will be considered in more detail as an agent of control in determining values and hence social attitudes.

Law may be cited here as another agency which acts as a judge of values and hence as a creator of attitudes; it also will be considered in another chapter in more detail as a factor in group control. Law represents a crystallization of public opinion, and thus is less emotional but more rigid. When it settles upon given social procedures it is not easily changed. Law establishes values, permanence, and conservatism. By forceful, objective means it brings group standards and necessities before the individual's attention. By compelling the individual to live according to rule and regulation it may indirectly force him to develop habits of acting and thinking built upon group needs; and hence ultimately lead him to the acceptance of new attitudes. The process is often painful and costly to both the individual and the group, but nevertheless cannot always be avoided. A weakness in modern penal systems is the fact that they fail lamentably oftentimes in controlling punishment so that the attitudes of the anti-social member may be made more socially welcome.

In times of group crisis, such as war, values and attitudes undergo rapid modification. When the United States entered the World War there was a widespread lethargy regarding the necessity of sending millions of soldiers to Europe. Pulpits, newspapers, the cinema, government representatives, four minute speakers, and others joined in whirlwind campaigns throughout the country, starting widespread currents of feeling and opinion concerning the necessity of making the world safe for democracy and of fighting to end war. The results were almost miraculous. Millions of men left their accustomed pursuits, their homes and loved ones; they entered upon training for war; they embarked dauntlessly on ships sailing over submarine-infested seas. They gave up temporarily, or if need be permanently, the values of constructive peace for the values of destructive war. Their social attitudes shifted from earning money, following personal desires, and enjoying the comforts of home to serving the nation at the cost of life itself.

The primary social value is the group. At the crucial tests human beings give up their loved ones and their own lives for the sake of the group. Under the flags of the nations millions marched to death in the World War. Self is hesitatingly if not freely placed on the altar of the group. Group opinion is almost all-powerful. Favorable group opinion expands personality; unfavorable group judg-

ments constitute the severest forms of punishments.

The welfare of loved ones is another leading social value. Ordinarily it is primary. For the sake of members of the family group and closest friends, an individual will face all manner of risks, even death. For their sake the laborer struggles on day by day in earning money for the necessities of life, and the man of wealth furnishes them with the finest comforts of life, the ablest physicians in case of sickness, and all the advantages of travel if these will please.

The cause of truth, creative effort, and achievement constitutes a set of highly rated values. In these directions, the best years of life are spent ungrudgingly. To the extent that these factors are given fundamental interpretations they rank high among social values. In short, the social values are differentiated in many ways, too numerous to present here, depending upon the level of civilization which is being examined.

Group manufacture of values and individual development of social attitudes represent the main elements in the social process, which will now be examined. The social process contains in itself all group and interacting personal phenomena; it is the central theme of sociological study.

2. *The Social Process.* Upon analysis the social process is found to be characterized by various el-

ements, such as (1) isolation, (2) interaction, (3) competition, (4) accommodation, (5) co-operation, (6) assimilation, and also (7) socialization and (8) social control. The two last mentioned processes are so important that they will be treated in a separate section of this chapter.

(1) *Isolation.* The examination of any group at work, even of a committee, shows that some individuals are not taking part, perhaps they are not present. They are not interested; their attitudes have led their minds in other directions. As a result they are isolated from the active members of the committee, and as far as the specific committee is concerned, they are dead timber although being in other connections very live personalities.

In a family, one member may become separated from the rest in spirit or he may desert, and mutual isolation result. As a consequence of the isolation the family remains broken. Isolation is the chief objective factor in broken up homes.

The most important cause of labor-capital controversies today perhaps is isolation. Because of isolation the laboring man does not understand the capitalist; and for the same reason the employer does not view his employees with unprejudiced eyes and an understanding mind.

Isolation between races leads to race prejudices. Racial groups have developed in different parts of

the earth and under various climatic conditions; they have produced different cultures and types of mental reactions. Because of lack of friendly contacts, mutual isolation has resulted, and misunderstandings, prejudices, and wars have taken place. The significance of racial isolation will be noted further in a later chapter.

Isolation between nations has been and is a leading cause of international disputes. Nations have built barriers about themselves; they have created permanent crowd emotions of an egotistic nature. When a peace conference is held in Paris, the nations are mutually suspicious and unwilling to trust one another, although each claiming to be honorable and priding itself on its integrity and dependableness.

Isolation is caused by lack of contact on the same planes of sympathy and understanding. It involves an inability or unwillingness to put oneself or one's group completely in the position of the other fellow or group, and consider problems unselfishly and in the light of larger societary needs.

2. *Interaction.* The importance of interaction has been implied in the preceding paragraphs and also in Chapter I. It is only when social contacts exist that progress can result. An infant could not grow to mental maturity without social interaction. It is in associative life that adults are produced.

Groups likewise grow through interaction. A political party, for example, that is in supreme control of the government, tends to become self-centered, careless, conceited, and corrupt. A victorious nation may become intoxicated with power, scorning to associate on democratic terms with weaker peoples, and thereby find itself isolated and perhaps hated by other nations.

Interaction is interstimulation. It draws out, accelerates, and discovers unsuspected powers. It increases mental activity, leads to comparisons of effort and through competition brings about tests of ability and achievement. Interaction uncovers old problems and creates new ones; it enlarges human horizons, sets new tasks, and electrifies persons and groups alike.

Interaction brings customs into conflict, with the result that the less worthy are unable long to withstand invidious comparisons. It forces the old to compete with the new, the new with the new, and also shows the need for new advances. Interaction brings individuals and groups into co-operation. Lifelong friendships, permanent organizations, unselfish world enterprises, and new racial stocks result. Interaction leads to the formation of all associative undertakings.

3. *Conflict.* Conflict is often the primary outcome of interaction. When strangers meet, each is

suspicious of the other; each is on the defensive. If either makes a false move, the other replies with an appropriate response, and an incipient encounter is under way.

Conflict between unequal forces means that the weaker will be lost in the stronger. When the earth and a meteor come together the latter is destroyed by the former. When a powerful football team meets a weaker untrained aggregation of players, neither team learns any football. No contest is exciting when the contenders are unequal in ability.

Conflict between equals brings out the best efforts in both. It may end in a deadlock, but more likely in a compromise. When two trained debaters of equal ability meet, each is likely to surpass his past record.

Conflict may take the form of destructive or constructive competition. The opponents may struggle surreptitiously against each other, seeking by calumny and chicanery to undermine the other's reputation and strength. In the neighborhood group, families may gossip about each other to the destruction of each other's reputation. In the industrial world employers' associations and radical labor organizations may exhaust the catalogue of pernicious and subtle means of combat.

Conflict may take place between a small group and a large group, between a minority and a majority, between a new idea and established dogma.

When conflict waxes hot, it may degenerate into verbal gunplay, deception, and malicious lying. Any dying cause whether slavery, alcoholism, or czarism resorts sooner or later to every conceivable means of misrepresentation.

On the other hand conflict and competition may be constructive and mutually wholesome. Children competing in games may all gain physically and mentally. Neighborhoods may compete on "Clean Up" days to the advantage of all concerned; they may vie with one another in Red Cross drives not only to their own advantage but to that of the Red Cross and of needy people in remote parts of the world.

4. *Accommodation.* Conflicts often end in compromise. After struggling for a long time with great losses and few gains each side learns to tolerate the other and perhaps to recede from the earlier demands that were made upon the other. Accommodation is the method of toleration, arbitration, and compromise. It is the only feasible social process where the contending parties possess more or less equally the same social and moral values and where each is somewhat equally wrong.

Accommodation is the wise but not commonly sought procedure when a minority is in the wrong. However, it is at this point that martyrs are made. There would probably be no martyrs if the spirit

of accommodation prevailed everywhere. It is necessary that some individuals stand out unflinchingly against the majority or the established order, if need be, to their death. By sacrificing all, they attract attention to the wrong for which they fought and start social currents in motion which finally overthrow gigantic evils.

Oftentimes the representatives of long established classes fail to accept compromise situations and go down to ignominious and utter defeat. The principles of conduct which obtained a half century ago for a social organization no longer suffice in a dynamic society. The leaders of economic, religious, or other groups must be alert to social changes and needs, and be willing to sacrifice privileges if need be in order that human needs may be met. By such accommodation they may maintain themselves in positions of leadership indefinitely. When Bismarck inaugurated measures of social insurance he appeased the socialist; by such accommodation he continued in power.

A privileged class always tends to violate the principle of accommodation. They become reactionary and by so doing provoke the liberalist to become radical. The result is generally revolution. Accommodation is the method of evolution; it represents adaptation to environmental needs.

Accommodations may be either passive or active. Animal life is full of illustrations of passive accom-

modation, a process which is the main element, psychologically, in organic evolution. It is a process in which the environment makes over the individual. Fraternities, college student bodies, churches, a group of friends, and other groups may gradually and even subtly change an individual, especially a young person, from a low to a high or from a high to a low level of living. Active accommodation, on the other hand, is a process whereby the individual transforms the environment. It is represented for example by the social phenomena of leadership. The person who does something better than his fellows is in a position to modify the attitudes of his fellows.

(5) *Co-operation*. Progress moves from isolation to co-operation. By co-operation is meant a process whereby the respective units are consciously aware of the place each may best fill in a specific enterprise, and best concentrate their energies upon filling these places. Such co-operation is rational and social.

Co-operation may represent a blind cog-in-the-wheel situation. Under such conditions, individuals not only lose their identity but also their self-consciousness. They possess no creative joy in effort; they are sacrificed to the god of organization. Over-organization represents a deadening form of activity. In the animal world there is over-organization

as found in a hive of bees, whose individual units represent not individuality but helpless subservience to mechanistic principles.

Over-organization is sometimes caused by the formation of too many groups. Student bodies are often over-organized; modern city life may likewise be over-organized, so much so that many persons spend their entire time in going from committee meeting to committee meeting. Over-organization in this sense may easily mean over-meddling. Moreover, under any conditions over-organization means suppression of individual initiative and the crushing of personal growth.

Co-operation involves multiplication of efforts. A group working together may generate unbounded enthusiasm and volitional power. There is almost no limit to the achievements of a thoroughly co-operating group. Co-operation constitutes morale. It also means efficiency. By specialization of effort with the resultant concentration of attention upon minutiae it is possible to secure efficiency of the highest type at the lowest cost, but, however, at the expense of human development and creativeness.

Co-operation on the rational plane then is an acting together, but not so completely that the individual units are slaves to the specific organization. It produces enthusiasm, morale, efficiency, redoubled efforts, and at its best the highest degree of creative effort.

(6) *Assimilation.* Assimilation is the process whereby the social attitudes of persons are united in a co-ordinated system of thought, thus producing a unified group, a substantial group morale, and leading to dependable group activity and advance. It is a normal outgrowth of interaction, constructive types of conflict, accommodation, and co-operation. It is illustrated concretely and at length in the chapter on Racial Groups.

Two more social processes remain to be analyzed, namely, of socialization and social control. The importance of these processes is so great and they will be referred to so frequently in the remaining chapters of this book that the immediate treatment of the theme will be merely introductory.

3. *Socialization and Social Control.* A child's attitudes originate in narrow, circumscribed, and selfish reactions; they also have their origin in gregarious, play, and similar tendencies. In the early years of life the narrow and more egoistic impulses dominate the child. In fact their inherited force is so strong that life becomes a process of controlling and socializing them. In a sense discipline is a system of controlling the self-assertive forces.

The child's gregarious and group nature also asserts itself. For example, the child demands playmates. If he cannot do otherwise, he will imagine playmates; he will personify the material objects of

his environment and talk to them, scold them, and love them.

While deeply grounded in inherited tendencies of great age, the social nature and the selfish nature are both developed in and through group life. The need for group survival and individual survival are causal factors. The nature of the environmental influences controls to a large degree the development of the social and selfish impulses, or the group and anti-group behavior of the individual.

As a person matures, as he faces one harsh experience after another, as he sometimes loses that which he values highly, his social nature may secure the ascendancy, or he may become embittered. By suffering, persons learn to be sympathetic and unselfishly interested in the welfare of others. Providing it does not prove too overwhelming, suffering acts as a socializing agency.

As a rule the social nature is likely to be limited in its attitudes to a few persons, and only in general ways to the members of large groups. With the expansion of experience a person may come to identify himself with a corporate group, an university, a community, or a nation. This expression often arises out of selfish attitudes, that is, a person may identify himself with a group in order to become a hero, to secure election to office, or to increase his business success. The social nature may be used by a person selfishly.

Moreover, the social nature of many persons expresses itself toward only circumscribed groups, while the selfish nature operates toward all larger groups. A person can be a kind husband and father but anti-social in dealing with employees, or in racial matters. On the other hand some persons are arbitrary and unjust in the family circle, toward certain neighbors, but at the same time professing the finest principles of Christian brotherhood.

The highest type of social nature is that in which the social attitudes are fully developed and steadily in control; it is one which gives unselfishly; and that while respecting self, gives it away without asking or thinking: What am I going to gain? Socialization involves a genuine and unselfish identification of one's self with the welfare of other persons, of one's groups, and of other groups.

The most far-reaching social process is social control, a process which will be analyzed in Chapters XVII—XIX. Social control, or more specifically group control, is the process by which groups influence their members. Social control utilizes social pressures and social stimulations. The group usually accentuates to an extreme the use of pressures of one kind or another. It represses blindly; it is suspicious of individual variations from the established order.

On the other hand social control sometimes secures expression through the use of rewards, honors,

and prizes. It usually stimulates individuals to act with courage along customary lines; it is chary with its rewards to those whose constructive programs involve the destruction of old and revered ideas and technique.

Social control manifests itself most tangibly in the form of group structures or social institutions. These represent the standardizations of associative opinion. Social institutions are products of group and personal feeling and opinions. These social products tend to become inflexible, rigid, and imperious; they are slow to change, slower than human needs, and hence as agents of social pressure they become tools of social repression. Undue and prolonged institutional pressure causes a virile group to remonstrate and leads to revolution, a destructive and costly method of progress.

The leading social institutions today are the home, play facilities, occupations, the school, the church, and communities including national and international organizations; these have each developed specific forms of group life. Wider social divisions are represented by rural and urban groups, and by racial groups. Social institutions are the leading tangible vehicles of control; they are also the objective, crystallized products of social attitudes. They hold groups steady, sometimes too steady.

In this chapter the leading social forces, as dis-

tinguished from physical, biological, and socio-psychological factors have been treated under the heading of social attitudes and their inseparable complements, the social values. The social process has been viewed in its constituent elements, ranging from the static factor of isolation to its highest constituent process, socialization, and to its main technique, social or group control. Social beings themselves are largely the products of grouping; they are able to mature only in group life. Our sociological quest now takes us upon an analysis of the leading human groups.

PROBLEMS

1. Analyze an attitude that you now hold, showing how it originated.
2. Illustrate a change in attitude that you have experienced.
3. Illustrate the difference between an attitude and a value.
4. Give a new illustration of isolation.
5. Why do people co-operate?
6. Have you experienced socialization in any regard?
7. To how many groups do you belong, and how long have you belonged to each?
8. In what ways have you experienced group control?
9. Illustrate social pressure.
10. Illustrate social stimulation.

CHAPTER VI.

THE FAMILY GROUP

OF ALL THE human groups the family is in many ways by far the most important. From its basic units, the father and mother, the child receives his physical heritage, that is, a strong or weak mental and physical organism, a healthy or puny start in life. From the family the child receives his social heritage, and his earliest attitudes toward life. The family's social, religious, political and other points of view are likely to determine his social attitudes for a term of years if not for life. In the family he learns obedience and the meaning of discipline; the type of citizen that he will become is determined to an extent by the training he receives at home.

When he reaches adult life, he leaves the parental family in order to establish a family of his own. By the processes of courtship and romantic love he marries, having chosen thoughtlessly or thoughtfully a potential mother for the children that may be born into the new family group. The young woman possessing a mental and physical heritage, and having received a social heritage and a training from the parental family, likewise marries, having

chosen thoughtlessly or thoughtfully a young man to be the father of the children that she may bear.

The two young people, the product of two different family groups, establish through the social institution of marriage their own family group. Their viewpoint changes, for instead of being son and daughter sometimes remonstrating against parental direction, they now play the part of disciplining father and mother. Thus family groups break up, new ones are established, and the process of personal growth and social evolution goes on.

1. *The History of the Family.* The student may gain an understanding of the significance of the family and marriage as social institutions by considering their early history and development. Among primitive people the mother and child were the stable units in the family group. The father roamed, coming home irregularly, staying away for periods of time. The helplessness of the infant compelled the mother to lead a home life. The irregularity of the father's habits made it necessary for the mother to gather fruit, to plant seeds, and develop a crude form of hoe-culture. The father, engaged in the hunt and chase, led a more exciting life, and came in contact with a larger variety of experiences.

In early human history the family in which the mother rather than the father was the leading mem-

ber was common. It is known as the metronymic family. The child took the mother's name; property was transferred through the mother. The metronymic family was well developed, for example, among many North American Indian tribes. The Iroquois Indians have been pronounced a typical metronymic people, among whom the government of the clans was to a degree in the hands of matrons as women councilors, elected by the males of the given clans.

Where the pastoral form of life existed and where flocks and herds were kept, the father was the chief factor in the family. The grazing of flocks and herds required considerable territory; small groups of people widely separated from each other represented the population situation. The wife and mother was removed from the influence and authority of her kindred; the husband's power over her by virtue of her isolation was supreme.

Under pastoral conditions, men owned and controlled the flocks; the owners of the family property controlled in a real sense the family itself. The children took the father's name and inherited property through him; the eldest living son usually succeeded to the rulership of the family group. Warfare gave men increased influence over women. The women captured in war were held as slaves and wives by their captors. The form of the family with the man at the head, possessing authority over

if not ownership of the wife and children, is known as the patronymic or patriarchal family.

In early social history a method of purchasing wives was known. The purchased wives as well as the women captured in warfare were held as the property of the men. In these and other ways the patriarchal type of family life became common. At its best it is found among the early Hebrews. The Old Testament affords many descriptions of patriarchal families, such as those of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob.

The ancient Hebrew family is noted for the relatively excellent care given the children. "Honor thy father and thy mother; that thy days may be long upon the land which the Lord thy God giveth thee." Such was the fundamental principle which the Hebrew family bequeathed to the world—to the world's great gain. Because this principle is being ignored in many modern homes, nations are endangered and progress is throttled.

An overemphasis upon parental control leads to ancestor worship. According to this procedure the welfare of the living depends upon the active good will of the departed ancestors. In order to insure one's happiness, a man's first duty is that of rearing a family that will continue the ancestral control. China's emphasis upon family stability and ancestor worship explains in part her long life as a people.

Ancestor worship existed among the Romans at an early date. The early Roman family, seven centuries B.C., was patriarchal; it maintained itself on the religious basis of ancestor worship. The family life centered about the ancestral gods; the habitation in which the family group lived was virtually a temple, with the patriarchal head possessing the power of a god over the women and children. The house father had almost absolute power over all the members of the family. He could not always act arbitrarily; he was controlled by what he believed was the will of the ancestors.

Property was held by the eldest living male member of the family; it was held in trust for the good of the entire family. In early Roman times, this eldest living male member or house father could not make a will. At his death the property passed automatically to the eldest living son.

Marriage was practically indissoluble and divorce unknown. It is said that for five centuries after the founding of Rome, the town had no divorces. This Roman family life thus was characterized by great stability. Although the family life was patriarchal and women and children were in subjection, it nevertheless was of a fairly high order, although not as elevated as the Hebrew family life at its best.

The pendulum swung to the other extreme; family life began to decay. When this disintegration reached its height, the fate of Rome was sealed. If

Rome had maintained a high type of family, her history would undoubtedly have been entirely different.

The decadence was caused by several factors. The family began to lose its religious significance. When marriage became a civil contract merely, it was viewed too lightly. The authority of the house father was broken. The right to make a will was established. The father was first given the right to divide his property among his children, and then to bequeath it to whom he pleased. When the family property was thus broken up in units, and scattered, the family as an institution lost prestige. Women were given the right to hold property, and in the second century B.C. to divorce their husbands. Marriages were made and broken at will; temporary marriages were common; sex relations were loose; and sexual immorality flourished.

The women of the higher social classes achieved emancipation, and were at liberty to do as they saw fit. They formed and dissolved marriages freely. The personal liberty of both men and women was extended beyond the control of their passions.

The downfall of the family group in Roman life may be thus attributed to three main sets of causes. (1) The decay of religious beliefs, inadequate as they were and promulgated by narrow-minded bigots, was a leading factor in the disintegration of the family. (2) The habits of vice, particularly of

sexual vice, that were common among Roman young men and were winked at by the young women, undermined true love and genuine family life. (3) The changes in economic conditions, such as the expansion of commerce and manufacture, and the growth of cities tended to destroy the social situations in which the family had been a fundamental unit.

Christianity represented the next set of influences that vitally affected the family as a social institution. It began promptly upon its Western invasion to reconstruct the family life in Europe. (1) Christianity brought the support of religion to the family again. It recognized marriage as a sacrament and opposed the idea that marriage is simply a civil contract; it ascribed to marriage a religious nature and thus gave it stability once more.

(2) Christianity opposed divorce. When the church came into power in Western Europe, it brought about a change whereby divorce as a legal institution was no longer accredited. In the place of divorce, legal separation was recognized. The church took a strict attitude against divorce.

(3) Christianity exalted the position of woman and secured a new interest in the welfare of children. For the patriarchal type of family, Christianity succeeded in substituting a semi-patriarchal form, in which the position of the husband and father while not supreme as in the case of the Hebrew,

Greek, and early Roman families, exercised a control out of proportion to the importance given the other members of the family. This type persisted in Western civilization until the latter part of the nineteenth century. In rebuilding the institution of the family in the early centuries, even on semi-patriarchal lines, Christianity performed an inestimable social service.

With the Renaissance came the separation of the church and state and the consequent weakening of the authority of the church. Consequently, the family again began to lose its significance as a religious institution. When marriage once more came to be regarded by many persons solely as a civil contract, the way was open for divorce.

By the beginning of the nineteenth century the movement known as individualism had reached a remarkable growth. This rise of individualism was accompanied by a decline in the part played by authority in social life; the patriarchal type of family also began to decline, and the idea gradually developed that either party to the marriage vows could break these vows according to his or her individual desires.

Economic changes at the beginning of the nineteenth century seriously affected the status of the family. Under the domestic system of industry which reached its height in the eighteenth century, the family was the industrial unit; all manufacture

was carried on in the home, and all members of the family group as well as the helpers worked together democratically.

The discovery of steam power, the invention of steam-driven machinery, and the development of the factory system all tended, however, to destroy the economic unity of the family. The members of the family, the men, the women, and even the boys and girls left the home for the factory as the place of work. With the breaking down of the economic unity of the family, there came also a disintegration of the social cohesion existing between the members of the family.

Another influence affecting the family in Western civilization in the last century was the enormous growth of wealth. The possession of wealth has emancipated peoples from various forms of fear, even religious fears; it has tended to make them feel self sufficient. In other words, the growth of wealth has favored a lowering of moral standards and often a looseness in marriage relations.

In the next place, the nineteenth century was one of increasing social unrest. The family felt the effects of this unrest, and found itself at the dawn of the twentieth century in the midst of social change and confusion.

It is now in place to take up the thread of discussion concerning marriage in detail. Marriage is a procedure which admits men and women to family

life, that is, to living in the socially sacred relationships of husband and wife. This procedure has social approbation and may have religious approval, in fact, may be conducted under religious auspices. Marriage as a social institution has had significant backgrounds.

In certain parts of the earth the practice of polyandry exists. It is a form of marriage where one woman has more than one husband at a given time. It is found, for example, in Tibet, where the conditions of life are harsh and where the efforts of two or more men are needed in order that a family may be supported. It is a relatively unsatisfactory and rare type of marriage relationship.

Another form of marriage that has existed to a small extent in all ages is polygyny, a situation in which one man has several living wives. Polygyny is closely related to the institution of slavery. Women captured in warfare became the wives and slaves of their captors. A chieftain might purchase a dozen women for wives, in the same manner that he would buy any form of personal property.

Polygyny did not develop to any extent until human groups had accumulated some degree of wealth, at least, attained sufficient degree of economic efficiency to enable one man to support several families. Hence, even in countries where polygyny is legal, as in Turkey and Egypt, only a small proportion of the people, namely, the wealthier

practice it.

Polygyny is based on the lower and degraded impulses of the male sex; it exists as a sacrifice to the development of the highest affections. It rests upon the subjection and degradation of woman; it allows no high regard for the feelings of woman. Under this expression, children and aged parents suffer grievous neglect. Polyandry and polygyny together are often referred to under the single term, polygamy, meaning etymologically, much married.

Monogamy, or the marriage of one man and one woman, has been always and everywhere the leading type of marriage. In Western civilization, monogamy has been sanctioned by custom, religion, and law. The social advantages of monogamy are now well recognized; they have been stated by various writers, and scientific observers agree on the following points.

(1) Monogamy secures the superior care of children. Under it, both father and mother unite their efforts in the care of the children. A greater and better degree of attention can be given to the training of children by both parents under monogamy than under any other expression of marriage relationship.

(2) The monogamic family alone produces the highest type of affection, of altruistic love, of unselfish devotion. Under polygyny, the father can-

not devote himself fully to his children individually or to each of his wives because he is in reality the head of several households; fatherhood in the complete sense rarely exists under polygyny. Isolation is common. Under monogamy, on the other hand, both father and mother commonly sacrifice many selfish desires in the mutual care of children.

(3) Monogamy creates more definite and stronger family ties than any other form of marriage; affection between parents, between parents and children, and between children themselves is more wholesome. Legal relationships and blood relationships are simpler, less entangled, and less frequently the cause of permanent and annoying frictions; the cohesive power of the family is greater. As a result, monogamic families tend to increase the unity and cohesiveness of society itself.

(4) Monogamy favors not only the preservation of the lives of the children but also of the parents. It is only under monogamy that aged parents are cared for to any great extent by their children. Under polygyny, the wife who has grown old is likely to be discarded for a younger woman; she usually ends her days in bitterness. The father also is rarely cared for by the children, because the polygynous household does not often give opportunity for close affection between parent and children. Under monogamy parents are likely to receive the favoring

care of children; under polygyny they are often compelled to face a friendless old age.

In brief, monogamy presents such superior opportunities for social interaction that it is better fitted than any other type of marriage to produce the most unselfish forms of love and to lay the foundations for the best forms of societary life.

2. Present Status and Tendencies of the Family.

Modern industrial processes have seriously upset the family as a social institution. In primitive groups and until the latter part of the eighteenth century in England the home was the center of manufacture. The use of steam-driven machinery was too expensive a process to be furthered in the family circle. The workers were thus called out of the home to labor in places where machinery had been set up, that is, in factories. The modern family scarcely manufactures anything at all; even the immediate preparation of foods is likely to disappear from the home.

This removal of industries from the home has been fraught with danger. Parents, even mothers, have gone out of the home, seeking employment and means of supporting the family. The employment of married women in factories has brought about the isolation and neglect of children, who have roamed the streets, acquiring mischievous habits and falling into delinquency.

As a result, much has been said recently concerning pensions for mothers. It often happens that a family with small means is suddenly left in the world without a male wage earner. The husband and father suffers death, or he may desert the family. He may have no savings or life insurance, and the wife and mother is left without financial resources. In seeking work outside the home, the mother leaves early in the morning and returns late at night. The children must get along as best they may without supervision except such as the older are able to give. They are sometimes boarded out, or again they may be turned over to an orphans' home.

The idea underlying the program of pensions for mothers is that of furnishing money by the county, the state, or both, not to some institution to take care of the specific children, but to the mother herself so that she will not need to work outside the home. In this way the mother is kept in her home to take care of the children, and the family as far as possible is kept intact. If the mother is uneducated, she is given instruction by the agents of the county or state. There are numerous possibilities of taking advantage of such measures for individual gain; sometimes, a shiftless father is encouraged to desert, knowing that the county or state will look after the family. On the whole, however, mothers' pensions if carefully administered are so-

cially wise.

The present status of the family, particularly in the United States, is unstable. Never were so many marriages being legally dissolved as now. For many decades the United States has held the unenviable position of leading Europe and America in the number of divorces granted. Several years ago when a survey was made, it was found that there were 20,000 more marriages legally dissolved annually in this country than in all the rest of the Christian civilized world combined. At that time in France one marriage was legally dissolved to every thirty ceremonies performed; in Germany, only one marriage was legally dissolved to every forty-four marriage ceremonies performed; in England, only one marriage was legally dissolved to every 400 marriage ceremonies performed; but in the United States the proportion was one to twelve, and in some of the cities the proportion was even one to six and one to five.

A few years later another survey was made. It showed that in 1916 there were six counties in five states of the United States which had more divorces than marriages. In Pawnee County, Oklahoma, the ratio was one divorce to every .77 of a marriage. Washoe County, Nevada, Trinity County, California, Rutherford County, Tennessee, Union and Clackamas Counties, Oregon, were the other communities with unenviable records. Seattle

outrivalled Reno as a divorce center, and Atlanta and Savannah also challenged Reno's record. The entire state of Nevada showed one divorce for 1.54 marriages; and Indiana, the tenth state from the top of the list of divorce rates listed one divorce to every 5.94 marriages.

Not only does the United States lead the world in the number of legally dissolved marriages, but this dissolution seems to be increasing much more rapidly than the population, perhaps three times as rapidly. If this tendency is maintained, it will not be many decades before the family as a permanent union between husband and wife will no longer be common. If the United States should reach the place where one-half of all marriages are dissolved in the courts, the social conditions of such a time will probably be no better than those in the declining days of Rome.

It appears that the rate at which marriages are legally dissolved is higher as a rule in the cities than in the surrounding country districts. The rate is apparently from two to four times as high among childless couples as among those who have children. Parental duties and privileges are strong factors in preventing a break in the marriage relation.

It also appears that legally dissolved marriages are relatively most frequent among persons of no religious profession, next most common among Protestants, next among Jews, and least common

among Catholics. The fact that some marriages are not dissolved is not necessarily proof, however, that they should not be dissolved, and that vicious family conditions do not exist. The rate at which marriages are dissolved by law is much higher in the United States among native whites than among immigrants—a fact partly due to the traditional attitudes and the religious control by which many immigrants are governed.

Of all the marriages dissolved by the courts in the United States within recent decades, approximately two-thirds have been broken at the request of the wife. This indicates that women are becoming emancipated; they are not submitting to abuses on the part of their husbands as they did formerly. Another conclusion is that men are the cause for breaking the marriage bond more frequently than are women.

The grounds that are given in the courts for dissolving the marriage bond in the United States are numerous, such as cruelty, sexual immorality, and neglect on the part of the husband to provide for the family. In perhaps two-thirds of the cases, the marriage bond had been dissolved in spirit before the courts made the dissolution formal.

To an appreciable extent, the legal breaking up of families is a symptom of more serious evils. Marriage itself is being taken with an increasing lack of seriousness; it is losing its religious sanction and

being treated as any ordinary promise. In certain classes of society, the wealthiest and the poorest, there is a noticeable decay of the very virtues upon which the family rests. Family life requires self-sacrifice, chastity, and the assumption of responsibility for the welfare of other individuals.

The causes of the instability of the family particularly in Western civilization may now be summarized. (1) The first of the causes that may be cited is the decay of the religious view of marriage and the family. It is historically true that no stable life has existed anywhere without a religious basis, but within recent years in the United States, for example, religious sentiments, beliefs, ideals, and attitudes, have become increasingly disassociated from marriage and the family. Consequently many people unfortunately have come to regard the institutions of marriage and the family largely as a matter of personal convenience.

(2) The second leading cause of the increasing instability of the family may be given as the exaggerated spirit of individualism and self satisfaction. This spirit leads a person to find the guide to his actions in his own wishes, whims, or caprices; it gives him an attitude of carelessness concerning social welfare. This spirit has expressed itself in the phrase, I should worry; it has tended to make all the social institutions unstable, especially the family, for the family rests upon attitudes of group re-

sponsibility.

(3) The emancipation of woman has sometimes increased family instability. The emancipation of woman in the sense of freeing her from the hindrances to the best and noblest development of her personality is entirely desirable, but this freedom has meant some opportunities for going down as well as many for going up. To some women it has meant license, or licentiousness.

The Roman women, it may be remembered, achieved complete emancipation; but that victory did not lead to Roman progress. On the contrary, the emancipation of woman in Rome led to her degradation, and to the demoralization of Roman family life. This result of course is not necessarily an accompaniment of woman's emancipation; it depends in part upon woman's underlying attitude in the matter and upon the spirit of the times. That the woman's movement has played a part in the increasing instability of the modern family is shown by the fact that some of the influential leaders in that movement advocated free divorce, which may be cited as a causal factor in the rise of a careless attitude toward marriage.

(4) The growth of modern industrialism is another cause of the instability of the family. The opening of a large number of new industrial occupations to woman has rendered her to a degree economically independent of family relationships.

Furthermore, this development has tended to take many married women out of the home and into the factory. The result has been harmful to the home; too many homes are simply lodging places.

Through the development of opportunities to work in factories and stores, and increased social interaction, many girls have failed to learn the domestic arts, and to receive training in home-making. Therefore, when they have come to the position of wife and mother they have frequently been totally unfitted. Through their lack of knowledge of, and of interest in, home-making, they have made home life unstable.

(5) The proportion of American families that are giving up their homes for "the cheerless existence in a boarding house or hotel" is a disturbing fact. What does it mean, that a rapidly increasing part of the population finds the boarding house preferable to the home? It may be that the burden of housekeeping is becoming too heavy to compensate for the possession of a home. It may be asked, however, what is to compensate for the giving up of the home and home life by that increasing host of young married people who are choosing a homeless boarding house existence.

(6) The growth of tenement districts and the rise in land rents have operated against sound family life. It has been frequently declared that a normal home can scarcely exist in many of the tene-

ment habitations of the large cities. Where a family of three or four members, with perhaps a male lodger, live in a one-room habitation, a normal family life is impossible; the social interaction tends to lower moral standards.

(7) To the other extreme is the fact that the high social standards of living required in certain sections of the large cities are a cause of family instability. Many persons maintain luxurious standards of living in order to gain prestige in the groups in which they have their associates, but these standards often are out of proportion to incomes. The maintenance of a home where standards of living are rising faster than incomes is often a cause of serious domestic unhappiness.

(8) A late age of marriage is sometimes another causal factor. In the professions it is hardly wise for a young man to marry much earlier than the thirties; at any rate an independent income in the professions is possible not much earlier than the age of thirty. The high economic standard of living which a young woman of wealthy parents may set before a young man who is getting started in a profession, leads to the postponement of marriage. People who marry after thirty sometimes find difficulty in becoming adjusted to each other's habits; the maladjustments may lead to unstable marriage relationships.

(9) An increasing degree of knowledge of the laws regarding divorce and an increasing laxity of these laws have produced family instability. A few centuries ago the law was rarely resorted to except by the wealthy classes. Many people would not have thought of divorce even fifty years ago; similar people today know the laws concerning divorce and sometimes deliberately prepare to secure it.

The laws concerning the legal dissolution of marriage are more lax in the United States than in almost any other Christian nation. The administration of these laws is also lax; their lack of uniformity is unfortunate. Although the people of Canada and of England are similar in culture and institutions to the people of the United States, their divorce rate is very low, a situation which is partly explained by the fact that the Canadian and English laws are comparatively strict. An easy way out of marriage is one of the causes of bad marriages.

(10) Poor marriages are perhaps the chief cause of divorces. It was this discovery which Dr. George Elliott Howard was the first to make. Many persons assume that marriage is not a serious affair. If they make hasty choices that result in unhappiness, they appeal to the divorce law. Marriage on short acquaintance too often proves a delusion. If given a reasonable amount of time, what is thought to be real affection would prove to be a passing

fancy or sex passion. The marriage of a chaste woman with a sexually immoral or diseased "gentleman" causes family instability. A requirement that a marriage license must be secured several days before the marriage occurs would be socially advantageous.

Lax marriage laws rest upon a lax public opinion in regard to the need of a more stable family life. More knowledge about the means of securing family stability, together with a wide distribution of this knowledge would produce more wholesome attitudes.

The instability of the modern family may go from bad to worse until a nation such as the United States destroys itself, even as Rome decayed; or it may be met by a new constructive and socialized attitude on the part of individuals and of organized groups. The outcome may depend entirely upon the attitude toward marriage and the family that individuals and groups choose to encourage. The destruction or reconstruction of the family is within human choice.

PROBLEMS

1. Define a good husband.
2. Explain the statement that woman has domesticated man.
3. Explain: "No one marries the real man."
4. Why is a marriage taken by many people with a lack of seriousness?
5. What is feminism?
6. In what ways is home life in the country better than in the city?
7. Show how "table talk" has an educational value.
8. What are the effects upon home life of moving every year?
9. Should every girl learn to cook?
10. Should every girl learn home-making before she goes to work in a factory or store?
11. Which are the greater, the advantages or the disadvantages of being an only child?
12. Explain the statement that the rich man's wife is often a parasite?
13. "Is the attitude of the public the same toward the man who has married money, as toward the man who has made money"?
14. Should every young woman have a profession? Why?
15. Are women inherently better than men?
16. Should women become more masculine?
17. What are the different types of marriages?
18. What is the social function of an "engagement" period before marriage?
19. Should wealthy women resent being forced "to spend their time in the meaningless round of luncheons, teas, bridge-parties, and stereotyped charities?"
20. How far does the welfare of society rest on the welfare of the home?

CHAPTER VII

THE FAMILY GROUP (*Continued*)

3. HOUSING THE FAMILY. Housing conditions exercise a degree of control over family life. Underhousing, especially, hinders the maintenance of normal moral conditions in the home, besides weakening the physical morale.

The earliest family groups were very crudely housed. Cave houses and tree houses prevailed. The invention of the hall house, rectangular in shape, containing one room with the fireplace in the center, with no windows and perhaps no chimney, and accommodating more than one family represented a distinct advance. Today the variety of houses is indeterminable; the elegance of some is the best that wealth and artistic talent can devise. The owners however of colonial mansions, California bungalows, or Swiss chalets are often unmindful of the fact that for many laboring people modest homes of their own are impossibilities.

When sixty per cent of the people of a prosperous country such as the United States, with its three million square miles of land, are unable to own their own homes, and when they live their entire

days on other people's land, a social situation has developed that demands earnest attention. With land in certain congested parts of the largest cities selling at a thousand dollars a front foot, with tenements rearing their sooty heads a hundred feet high, with a housing shortage so constant and acute that no matter how dilapidated a building may be, some one is willing to live in it, is it not time that housing the family should be considered a problem of national and world welfare?

The housing problem develops when more than one family group try to live in a dwelling scarcely large enough for a single family. Each city in the United States has its housing problem, namely, how shall it house its people from a healthy and social viewpoint? Although New York City alone in the United States has a tenement house problem, all other large cities are tending toward tenement house conditions.

Housing the family is a serious problem for an increasing percentage of the world's population; housing evils are everywhere developing. (1) Overcrowding is of two types, land overcrowding and room overcrowding. The first mentioned refers to the overcrowding of limited areas of land with an undue population, in such a way that a fair level of living standards cannot be maintained. Under specific circumstances a thousand people might be housed satisfactorily, as in an elegant hotel;

whereas under other conditions two hundred people might be housed unhealthily upon the same area of land, especially they who live in shacks without sanitary control.

Room overcrowding refers to a situation where too many persons are occupying a given number of rooms, especially sleeping rooms. In many cities the standard is a minimum amount of 400 or 500 cubic feet of air for each adult per room. Such a standard may be entirely inadequate, for ventilation is more important than the amount of air space. It is also important that sunshine and light reach into every living room, particularly sleeping rooms. It is far better to permit a family to sleep in a room containing only 400 cubic feet of air per adult, of good quality and frequently renewed, than to permit them to sleep in a room containing three times that amount of air which cannot be renewed through ventilation.

(2) Closely related to overcrowding is the lack of health facilities. In addition to ventilation, sunshine, and light, the necessary health facilities include adequate plumbing with preferably separated facilities for each family, proper collection of garbage, and fixed responsibility for the cleanliness of those parts of the building which are used in common by several families.

It is surprising how anyone who breathes continually the foul air of the tenement can keep

healthy. In the "dark, damp rooms" of the poor, the germs of disease live and multiply; sunshine and fresh air are not there to destroy them. Typhoid and other fevers are prevalent because of an impure water supply and a lack of drainage. The highest death rate from tuberculosis is generally found where the proportion of overcrowded housing conditions is highest.

(3) High rent constitutes another housing evil. It is caused in part by an extraordinary demand for houses. As a result, people huddle together in increasingly close and mean quarters. With every increase in a city's population either by birth or immigration, the demand for housing space rises and the rents go up.

(4) The misuse of the principle of the private ownership of land causes unduly high rents and housing evils. Land speculation tends to force land prices up and to make housing conditions harsher for the poor. Housing speculation also produces disastrous results, for many dwellings are "built to sell, not to house."

Prices have already reached the level in large cities where it is impossible for the poorer people to own their own homes, no matter how thrifty and industrious they may be. With land selling at a hundred or a thousand dollars or more a front foot, and being occupied with four story or ten or twelve story tenements, the poor man cannot hope to own

a home. Good farm land in the United States is also reaching a price level which a young man with only slight financial means and with a family cannot pay for. This increasing degree of tenancy and renting is a main cause of the marked social restlessness of the time. More than 95 per cent of the people in the tenement districts of New York City are living in hired habitations; other millions, particularly of the industrial classes, are homeless in the sense of being renters and tenants, in fact over sixty per cent of the entire population of the United States are so situated.

(5) The taking in of lodgers is usually found along with high rents and overcrowding. With an increase in land values and in rent, a lodger may be added to the family group, so that the increased housing expense may be met. The moral effects of taking in lodgers by families already living in one or two rooms are serious.

(6) Lack of play space is the rule where habitations are congested. Hallways, dark stairways, side-alleys, and rear-alleys are the only places about the home where millions of children may play. (7) The tendencies to vice and crime which accompany overcrowding, the lodger evil, and the lack of play space are many. Dark alleys and promiscuous living conditions tend to degrade children and adults alike.

(8) In cities people are rated socially according

to the topographical location of their homes. Those who do the manual work generally occupy the lowest geographical levels. The heights and the commanding spots are occupied by the people with wealth, irrespective of their services to the given city. Between these extremes the middle classes live. An American novelist has made much of the point that one's social rating depends in part upon the altitude in a city at which he is able to house his family. As he acquires a large competence, he moves up geographically and refuses to live down geographically.

The causes of housing evils are frequently classed as three-fold. One of the leading causal factors of the housing problem is the failure of the citizens of a community to recognize housing evils as they arise. The ignorance of many persons in cities regarding the housing conditions that are developing within the city's gates is surprising. This situation illustrates the general lack of social knowledge. Furthermore, when bad housing conditions are recognized as arising within a community, the failure of the citizens to take an effective interest in rectifying the untoward situation is a startling commentary on prevailing social attitudes.

A second leading cause of poor housing, as shown pointedly by Lawrence Veiller, is greed on the part of landlords. For the sake of large profits on their investments, many landlords are willing to sacrifice

the health and welfare of relatively helpless people. Many make no repairs except under compulsion, and care little whether tenants live or die, so long as large financial returns are netted from property.

A third leading cause of poor housing is ignorance on the part of poor people—ignorance concerning the nature of health, sanitation, and minimum living standards. From one-sixth to one-half the populations of large cities have never had the opportunity of learning about the recent advances in sanitary science, household economics, and personal hygiene; they are practically excluded from all these benefits. There are whole sections of large urban populations which, as regards the prevalence of ill health and disease, and their ignorance of the laws of health and sanitation, are still living in the Dark Ages.

At least eight different methods of controlling the housing of the family may be noted. (1) A *laissez faire* reliance on private capital and on the law of supply and demand for houses encourages private building initiative but does not conserve the needs of families for well-built homes and does not prevent speculation in a necessity of life. (2) The building of model tenements by individuals sets a fine example, but does not provide adequate housing for more than a fraction of those needing homes. (3) Municipally owned and operated tenements have been a success in Germany and Great

Britain. Their feasibility on a large scale in the United States is doubtful, because municipal governments are subject to inefficiency and "politics."

(4) The establishment of garden cities is praiseworthy, but meets the needs of only a limited percentage of city people.

(5) Better sanitary and health measures for regulating the activities of private builders are necessary, but they do not hinder rents from rising, and overcrowding from becoming common. (6) If not carried too far, the reduction of taxes on houses and improvements and an increase of taxes on land in cities, graduated according to the unearned increment serves to make possible better housing conditions. (7) Rapid transportation at low rates gives the working classes a chance to house themselves well. Many people however prefer to live near their work. Rapid transit moreover affords only temporary relief unless terminals are continually extended, and people are encouraged to move farther and farther away from their work.

(8) Constant, persistent education of the public concerning housing conditions is essential. In order to secure adequate housing laws and proper administration of them, public opinion must give steady support to socially-minded legislators and administrators.

It was Ruskin who pointed out that in 6000 years of building houses, we have not yet learned how to

house all human families. If the chief end of life is to live helpfully, then it is a matter of prime importance that all the people live in houses which are conducive to health, safety, and morality. Adequate housing is so related to proper homing that it becomes a matter too socially vital to be left in the field of selfish speculation; it can be handled well only through socialized control.

4. *Socializing the Family*. The family in Western civilization is undoubtedly at present in a transitional stage. The patriarchal family once prevailed widely; it was good for its day and age. In recent decades the development of democratic ideas has produced a movement for socializing the family. The patriarchal family made the husband and father the authority, and the wife and the mother a subordinate; the new movement would divide the authority between husband and wife, and establish a richer type of co-operation.

To change the family from one in which the husband exercises full control to a democratic type in which husband and wife share the authority more or less equally is a difficult task; the processes of nature cannot be modified rapidly. In many family groups, a socialized control has been established; but in most families in Western civilization the spirit of domestic democracy has not been recognized or else it is being tried, resulting in varying degrees of co-operation. The new family is a group

whose life is based not primarily on the fear and force of authority, but on the drawing power of mutual respect and affection; it is one in which love alone controls.

In a transition from the autocratic family group to the new socialized type, there must result necessarily much confusion and instability. Whenever old habits are being replaced by new ones in the life of the individual, a period of instability occurs; thus it is also with group life. Hence the present instability of the family should not be viewed too depressingly; it need not last unduly long if everyone will put forth effort and exercise foresight toward the working out of a democratic family life.

Such a family type must be controlled by chastity and a single and the same standard of morals for both men and women. Sex purity is essential to a true democracy in the family. The discussion of sex morality has been a much avoided subject. It has been tabooed by parents usually through prudish considerations. It has been ignored by the school, an institution from which the child should receive the instruction which will best fit him for wise living. It has been neglected by the church, which has stood for public and private morality. It has had an open field chiefly among the gamins of the street, and hired men on farms.

Illegal or immoral relations between the sexes have existed in all ages. The difficulties in the way

of socially controlling the sex instinct have been and are almost insurmountable. When uncontrolled the sex instinct produces sterile and diseased men and women, preventing a normal family life altogether. It has taken thousands of girls and women annually as a sacrifice in the United States alone. The virtues and bodies of girls and women have been highly commercialized, annually returning to evil-minded procurers and managers, even in the United States, millions of dollars. The segregation of sexually depraved girls and women in districts has been and is a flaring blotch upon civilization, testifying that men and women have sunk lower in the control of their passions than swine.

Sex immorality leads to serious diseases, namely, venereal diseases, so subtle in their processes that years after they have been pronounced cured by competent physicians they may break forth, contaminating virtuous wives and helpless babes. The busiest specialty of medicine is that concerned with venereal diseases. Disabilities, suffering, surgical operations, premature death follow in the wake of these diseases, as they populate hospitals and asylums with human wrecks. Perhaps the most revolting phase of these deep-seated infections is the way in which many men having sown "wild oats" in pre-marriage days are guilty of transmitting a dangerous venereal disease to innocent wives.

Ten causes of unchastity, a leading enemy of a

socialized family, will be noted. (1) The love of mammon is perhaps the chief cause; financial gain is placed ahead of family ideals. (2) Masculine selfishness and uncontrolled sex desire rank a close second as causal factors. (3) The habit of some girls and women of excusing their brothers or sons in being a little "wild" is another leading cause. (4) Feminine weakness for male adulation and flattery, for the luxuries which some men use to delude women, and feminine looseness of morals are determining factors. (5) Closely packed populations in congested urban districts furnish breeding places for sex immorality. (6) The countenancing of a double standard of morals operates disastrously against the family. A woman who succumbs once illegally to her sex nature becomes a social outcast; but a man who habitually violates sex virtues and whose evil practices are known, may remain a social lion and be received with open arms in polite society. For this social situation women may be more too blame than men. (7) Some men and many women owe their initial sex debauch to the influence of the unregulated public dance hall and of alcoholic liquor. (8) A double standard of medical regulations is also a cause. At present, cases of smallpox must be reported to the health department but venereal diseases which follow sex immorality and which are as virulent as smallpox and far more widespread, must not be reported to the public

health authorities, and furthermore, public measures cannot be taken to prevent their spread to the innocent. (9) Poverty leads many a girl to her sex downfall. She is enticed by the lure of expensive clothes which her wages cannot buy, and gives in to a quick but demoralizing means of securing the lure. (10) A lack of adequate moral and religious character is perhaps fundamental to nearly all cases of sex depravity.

A socialized family rests on the principle of mutual self sacrifice. A sound ethics is believed by many persons to be sufficient for the maintenance of domestic democracy; other persons hold that a rational religious view, particularly such as is represented by Christianity in its socialized interpretations, is more closely in harmony with the principles of self sacrifice upon which the socialized family must rest than any other force in the world.

A socialized family life is also a vital factor in true religion. If a child grows up without receiving any religious training in the family he is not likely to develop a deep and abiding religious attitude. The family undoubtedly gave Christianity its concept of human brotherhood, derived from the part that is played by the brother in a well directed home. It is also probable that the religious idea of a Divine Fatherhood did not develop until after the family had put a meaning of genuine love into the term, father.

The socialized family rests upon wise marriages. If there were democratic marriage ideals, including heredity, health, moral, and religious standards of the highest order, openly proclaimed and practiced, the family would be safe. These ideals should not favor the marriage of persons of too great difference in age, of too wide a racial difference, of persons with venereal diseases, or who are mentally defective. The requirement that a certain length of time should elapse between the securing of the license and the marriage, and the law requiring that a health certificate be obtained before marriage are intended to protect society from ill-planned and hasty marriages.

Legislation alone, however, cannot go far in socializing the family. If the family is hampered by wrong attitudes toward it, then legislation cannot set matters right. The public should learn in what ways the family is a socially necessary institution, and hence is socially sacred. Marriage needs to be viewed not as an expression of a narrowly selfish love; and the family not as a temporary group arrangement.

Socializing the family is an educational process. It is in the home itself that individuals can acquire early and effectively the attitude that marriage and the family are superior institutions. It is here that the responsibilities and opportunities of fatherhood can best be taught. Girls, and boys also, can learn

here too that motherhood represents the most important social service which a woman can perform.

The family was the first human school; it is also the best school. The most effective teaching is being done in and through the family. The education of every person normally begins in the family; the child's most important educative period is spent in the home. The education of the child in the principles of health and sex hygiene can usually be given best in the home. There is no better place than the home in which a child may learn obedience, discipline, and other social concepts. The family group life has magnificent opportunities in the field of moral training. The family may easily become the greatest socializing institution in the world.

The main function of the family is to train children to become worthy parents, neighbors, and citizens. After thousands of years of human history nothing superior to or as good as the family has developed for the training of children. Marriage and the family determine the heredity of nearly all children; they also exercise control over the care and upbringing of the rising generation. Although it may be built of logs and characterized by humble circumstances, the home may still function as the great schoolroom of the human race.

Century after century the family has survived. It is the mature judgment of all who have thought upon the history of human society that the family is

the most important social institution. It has improved with time. Its usefulness has not been surpassed. It is as sacred as religion. It is the masterpiece among the creations of nature, of society, and of God.

PROBLEMS

1. Why are so many American families giving up their homes and moving into apartments or flats?
2. Which is better for the family, the single dwelling or the flat?
3. Explain the statement that every American city has its housing problem.
4. Why is there so much overcrowding in the United States when at the same time there is so much spacious territory?
5. Illustrate the statement: There is no room to live healthily.
6. Why are tuberculosis and crowded housing conditions found together?
7. Why are good people who live in large apartment houses negligent as to how the janitor of the apartment building is housed?
8. Why do many poor people keep the windows closed in sleeping rooms?
9. If you were a wage-earner and your rent were suddenly raised, would you take in lodgers or move into a smaller number of rooms?
10. Is the percentage of people who own their homes in the United States decreasing or increasing?

11. Why are people who "live up geographically" in any city rated higher socially than those who "live down geographically?"
12. Why do many landlords feel no responsibility for the poor health conditions which their properties generate?
13. What is the "unearned increment," and how does it affect the question of housing?
14. Who suffers when men speculate in land values?
15. What is a municipal lodging house, and is it necessary?
16. What percentage of a man's income should be spent for rent?
17. Explain the statement that you can kill a man, woman, or child just as surely with a tenement as with a gun.
18. What is "zoning," and its purpose?
19. Is it true that the most successful person in the world is he or she who helps to rear socially-minded and socially-behaving children?

CHAPTER VIII

THE PLAY GROUP

EVERY CHILD functions early in life as a member of a play group. At the age of two or three years he has become a play group participator, associating in play with brothers, sisters, and parents, and also with neighborhood and other acquaintanceship children. Childhood and adolescence are largely play group phenomena. Moreover the play attitude functions in normal human beings throughout life.

1. *The Play Attitude.* The function of the play attitude has been interpreted variously. (1) The Romans held that play is a natural expression of the life-energies and should be gratified without restraint. The social product was uncontrolled licentiousness and demoralizing institutions.

(2) Early Christianity promptly reacted against Nero's interpretation of the play attitude and swung to the opposite extreme of urging that play be suppressed. Live seriously as a preparation for the next world, became the Augustinian dictum. Alcuin, the celebrated English educator of the Middle

Ages, developed this theory of the function of play, and it became dominant in Europe for many centuries. This rigid form of control received expression in the Puritanic attitude toward amusements, and prevailed in the United States until the latter part of the nineteenth century.

It was believed that play is useless, or worse still, it is frivolous. It should be discouraged and suppressed. At best it is a relatively harmless way of amusing children who are too young to be doing anything useful.

(3) In the closing decades of the last century several other philosophic theories of play secured recognition. Herbert Spencer, following the suggestion of Schiller, argued that play is essentially an expression of surplus energy. When a growing child accumulates an overflow of energy, he plays. This theory, however, does not account for the girl, for example, who "jumps the rope" until she falls from exhaustion.

The recapitulation theory, which received the attention of John Fiske, held that a child in his play life is primarily living over rapidly the stages of racial development. In his earlier plays he is experiencing the days of savagery of the race. Then he becomes interested in play activities which represent the days of barbarism. When he later comes to take part in team plays and co-operative sports, he is said to have reached the stage of civilization

in his play development.

In recent years play has been defined by writers, such as Grosse, as an instinctive preparation for life. In playing with a spool, that is, in rolling and catching a spool, a kitten is getting ready for the serious business of catching mice. The kitten is thereby developing claw and eye co-ordinations, which will in due time be useful in procuring food. In like manner the plays of a lamb are a preparation for the life of a grazing animal. The plays of a small boy are preparing him for activities of building, constructing, and acquiring. The plays of a small girl with her dolls are fitting her for motherhood. According to this interpretation of the function of play, it would seem that play is "a first-class educational process."

Play teaches respect for law. In no other way can a boy so fully realize for himself the value of law as on the playground. By the same token he learns respect for others, acquires habits of co-operation, and sacrifices selfish ambitions for the welfare of the group.

Play has been explained by John Dewey as those activities which are not consciously performed for the sake of any reward beyond themselves. They contain their own motives. Prizes do not need to be devised in order to get children to play; as soon as prizes are offered, the goal in play becomes objective and play itself becomes work.

The play impulses have been pronounced nature's way and God's way of developing body, mind, and character. "The Creator has purposely set the beginning of life in a joyful mood." None of these theories is entirely correct, but all contain more or less truth. A true explanation will combine the valid elements in all the theories, and add newly discovered factors.

Play is perhaps not only a preparation for life, but also a preparation for more life. He who ceases to maintain the play attitude, ages rapidly and dies; he shrinks within himself. It is an important accomplishment to be able to turn from a day's work and forget the perplexities of that day's work in play. Play has been called the sovereign re-creator necessary especially for the adult worker. Play is no luxury; it is a natural method of developing self control and a social attitude. It needs to be maintained throughout life.

With the development of the ideal of eight hours for work, eight hours for leisure, and eight hours for rest, the leisure time problem becomes a problem of prime importance. Commercial interests have capitalized these leisure time phenomena for purposes of profit. Belatedly, the social uses of leisure time have been receiving attention.

Play is a problem of one-third of life. The leisure hours are becoming as important as the work hours. Civilization, asserts Frederick C. Howe, depends

largely on the way people use their leisure hours. These may mean recuperation from work or the acquisition of vicious habits, the invigoration of body and mind, or the destruction of life itself. The leisure hours of a hundred million people are becoming as important to the nation as the hours spent at work, or as the time spent in school by children.

The social situation regarding play in a country such as the United States has changed in the last century. A hundred years ago all the natural activities of life centered in the home group. They could be expressed within the physical limits of the home and under the direction of home control.

The modern city has changed this social situation. Formerly when boys could expend their energies upon hillside and meadow and in the barnyard of the rural home, their activities were relatively normal. Today in the city, when boys must play upon narrow streets, crowded with traffic, lined with shops and automobile trucks, the parents are helpless. The public must exercise a degree of wise control.

Today when a large percentage of girls who learn to dance, do so away from home and in dancing academies commercially established and operated for profit, the quality of these academies becomes a matter with which the public has every need to concern itself. As Michael M. Davis, Jr. has indicated, the individual parent is helpless before a condition

which may mean the physical and moral destruction of his child.

The modern city in giving boys and girls opportunities to earn money at an early age and then leaving them free and often unguided in spending their money "as they choose in the midst of vice deliberately disguised as pleasure" is negligent. Apparently, continues Jane Addams, the modern city sees in working girls, for example, two main possibilities, both of them commercial: first, a chance to use day by day their new and immature labor power in its factories and shops; and then another chance in the evening to extract from them their wages by catering to their love of amusement and play.

As a result of the play processes, so dominant and natural, two leading types of play institutions have developed. These social products are the result of the commercialization and the socialization of play.

2. *The Commercialization of Play.* Commercial enterprise has taken advantage of the play attitude and turned it into dollars for the benefit of a few amusement promoters. It has furnished amusements for every period of life, for every moral level, and for all types of intellectual development. This movement began in an organized way in the United States as early as 1890.

In 1907, S. N. Patten declared that we had gone

little further than to permit men to exploit for private gain the human craving to be amused. "The workman is drawn hither and thither by the uncorrelated motley devices of selfish promoters and is often solicited by them until he has dissipated his vigor and lowered his moral tone."

When the workman comes from "the barren industrial grind" of the day's work, where is he invited most loudly to turn, if not to a great variety of amusement institutions in which the melodramatic and over-exciting presentations stand out foremost. The leisure of the people, according to a report of the Recreational Inquiry Committee of California, has been capitalized by private individuals throughout the country to the extent of billions of dollars. The commercialization of the play impulses of the people has been motivated, continues the report, by one chief desire, not to increase the welfare of the people, but to make money. Cheap seaside resorts have sprung up over night, vieing with one another, it has been observed, in enticing patrons thither by patriotic or salacious posters and advertisements, and in furnishing them with new sensations. The regular frequenters of these places of amusement are reported as getting so much excitement for a small outlay of money, that they find the attractions irresistible.

From an investigation that was made as early as 1907-1909 in Manhattan, New York City, it was

found that the commercial dance academy and the public dance hall teach more than forty per cent of the pupils of the grade schools to dance, and that three-fourths of these boys and one-half of the girls, nearly all under fourteen years of age, go with some regularity to the commercial dancing academy and the public dance hall to practice their skill. One hundred of the dancing academies in Manhattan were reaching annually not less than 100,000 paying pupils, forty-five per cent of whom were under sixteen years of age. Notice this statement: "Practically all the young girls among the mass of the people pass during the period of adolescence through the education of the dancing academies. We have here an influence over the adolescents of New York which is of practically universal scope."

In the academies of questionable type, representing at least one-half of the total number, the supervision is entirely inadequate and men and women of immoral character are present. When alcoholic liquor or substitutes for liquor are used, moral downfall is certain. The late hours are also harmful to both health and morals.

The dance hall differs from the academy in that its influence is worse. The proprietors of certain dance halls knowingly permit men and women to corrupt others. Where liquor is sold, as it still is in the dance halls in many countries, the effects are destructive and vicious. The combination of sex-

ually vulgar dancing, of drinking liquor, and of unmusical but highly stimulating "jazz" is one which the ordinary participant cannot withstand.

Of all play facilities, states the California recreation report, public dance halls bear the most direct and immediate relation to the morals of their patrons; they are in many cases extremely destructive. The gains are so overshadowed that space will not be given to discussing them.

Of all dances, continues the California report, the Saturday all-night dance is the most dangerous. Young people attend these dances without a thought of harm; and parents permit their sons and daughters to attend without realizing the true character of the all-night affair. The discussion so far has indicated some of the dangers that are represented by the dancing academy and dance hall; it has also shown a part of the responsibility which the city and nation must bear in controlling the means of recreation for youth.

Theatres may be divided roughly into at least four classes, namely, vaudeville, burlesque, standard theatres, and motion picture theatres. In regard to the vaudeville, the Manhattan report declares that its most striking characteristic is simple stupidity; that no person of moderate intelligence can attend a dozen vaudeville performances without being disgusted at their vapidty; and that some of the acts are wholly crude, a few decidedly

clever, and the majority trite and empty. The vaudeville is like many exciting occurrences—stimulating but disintegrating. It excites the onlooker and interests him transiently; but is not likely to recuperate or develop him. It represents hyperstimulus, asserts Dr. M. M. Davis, Jr., and may lead to neurasthenia.

The burlesque was found in the Manhattan survey to be the most undesirable type of performance given in New York City. As a type it was diagnosed as being artistically crude and intellectually stupid. Its appeal is based on facts of physical prowess and on unwholesome and lewd references to sex matters.

The standard theatre, chiefly because of the admission charged, draws only a small proportion of the theatre going people, perhaps not more than ten per cent. The working classes are isolated partly because of the admission prices, and hence are not privileged to attend the best plays.

The standard theater has offered few plays of excellent value. There is an opportunity for the citizens of every community to promote wholesome and cultural plays. When young people generally come to have a vital appreciation of worth while drama, they will no longer be satisfied with low and unrefined theatrical performances.

Motion picture theaters began to attract attention in the United States at the close of the last

century. By 1900, they were becoming well known, although the cheaper type predominated; by 1915, the theaters producing elaborate motion pictures were common in the large cities. At the same time motion picture producers were combining into powerful nation-wide organizations; and the demand for censorship had become insistent.

According to the Manhattan survey in which 1,140 school children eleven to fourteen years of age were questioned, it was found that sixteen per cent, a surprisingly large percentage, were attending motion picture shows daily. For the children of the common people, the motion picture has become the main amusement center. Motion pictures have become the leading form of dramatic representation for both children and adults in modern cities.

A part of the great popularity of the motion picture is to be found in the following points: (1) The fascination of not knowing what one will see, is appealing. (2) No punctuality is required; a person can enter and take a seat at any time and leave at any time. (3) No special degree of intelligence is needed; no attitude toward anything and no convictions on anything are necessary. No knowledge of any language is essential; consequently, the immigrant is reached before he understands the language of the country. (4) A fairly good eyesight and the admission price are all that are re-

quired. As a direct and immediate appeal to the understanding, the motion picture is paramount. (5) An appeal to one's love of children, of home, of flag, of religion, of courageous action is usually made, but this worthy trait is often more than offset by a tantalizing appeal to the melodramatic, the brutalizing, or the sex impulses. (6) The family as a group often finds it feasible to attend although the jumbling of the wholesome and unwholesome scenes before the eyes of uncritical children and adolescents is deleterious.

In a Los Angeles survey of down-town motion pictures it was found that from the standpoint of the social value of the films shown, only fourteen per cent could be classed as positively developmental. The remainder varied from the merely entertaining to the undesirable and demoralizing. A large percentage was found to appeal directly to the feelings and emotions. By being so designed, they drew the largest audiences and hence the greatest profits. The effects of operating motion picture shows primarily for profit instead of for social welfare were marked and frequently unfortunate.

A leading producer has said that the picture which draws the largest audiences represents the level of intelligence of a nine year old boy; therefore, the common run of film is made on that intellectual level. In the Los Angeles survey several managers described their attempts to put on films of

a higher educational order than the average, but showed that as a result the size of the audience decreased. The public does not go to the motion picture show to be educated but to be amused; it does not go to reason or to think hard, but in a passive and subjective sense to play.

Because the motion picture has catered so often to the lower elements of human nature, it has had to face the form of control known as censorship. The need for censorship is clear; the California Recreational Inquiry indicated that of 1,263 films studied, there were thirty-eight per cent which were marked by scenes of brutality and violence. The harmful effects of many motion pictures upon adolescent minds are beyond doubt. The motion picture also exercises such subtle effects upon the minds of adults that it operates as a powerful psychological force upon the entire nation group. The public is hardly yet aware of this far-reaching psychological form of control. If in the United States there is an average daily attendance of literally millions at motion picture shows, if this attendance involves harmful influences upon adolescents and even a general hypnotic influence upon the adult mind, if the public is receiving but one-fifth to one-fourth of the constructive values which it might from the billions of dollars that are spent on this popular form of entertainment, then it is time that the public awoke and directed the motion picture

influence to ends more in keeping with its own welfare.

The saloon, although outlawed in the United States, is still in one form or another in many countries the organized and legalized institution of the liquor traffic. The use of alcoholic liquor has been common to all peoples; it has met various types of human craving, ranging from the desire for excitement to the wish to deaden one feelings, and drown defeats and sorrows.

While the European nations under the trying stress of the World War declared officially against alcoholism, they tended to revert at the close of the war to alcoholic orgies. If the use of alcoholic liquor militates against efficiency in war, the argument is strong for the elimination of the same in connection with the strenuous activities and conflicts in times of peace, for it is in these periods that a nation grows strong or weak and lays the foundations for future successes or defeats.

It has been made clear by E. T. Devine in a careful study that before the eighteenth amendment to the Constitution went into effect in the United States one-fourth of all cases of destitution were fairly attributable to intemperance. Moreover, a study of about 13,000 convicts in seventeen prisons and reformatories in this country by the Committee of Fifty indicated that intemperance was one of the main causes in fifty-one per cent and the leading

cause in thirty-one per cent of the criminal cases studied. The reports from boards of insanity have shown that alcoholism is a specific causal factor in about twenty per cent of insanity cases. Before the eighteenth amendment became effective, the mortality reports indicated that approximately 100,000 deaths a year in the United States were due in some specific way to the use of alcoholic liquor.

Moreover, alcoholism is now known to have a disastrous effect upon heredity; many noticeable cases of degeneracy in the offspring of alcoholic parents have been observed. The use of alcoholic liquor is becoming recognized throughout the world as poisonous to the individual, and economically and morally wasteful to both individuals and the group. The saloon and its counterparts are undoubtedly passing as social institutions. The enactment of a prohibition amendment, however, does not become effective until the habits of the people become reconstructed. Such a process for a large population group may take twenty or more years. The legal control must be supported by a psychological control.

The play attitudes have been appealed to at their most vulnerable points by persons motivated primarily by profitism. This process has been skillfully planned out by shrewd individuals. The social products have been institutions, often flamboyant, harboring an atmosphere of patriotism and

subtly enticing the public, especially the young.

3. *The Socialization of Play.* Socially-minded persons have led the way in creating institutions that develop the play attitude constructively, irrespective of financial gain. Of the group of socialized play activities the playground movement easily leads. Then come the play activities which focus in the schools, social settlements, community recreation centers, and religious organizations, such as the Christian Associations, the Knights of Columbus, fraternal orders, and the like.

(1) The playground movement began in the United States about 1880; it won public attention about 1900; and by 1910, it had secured wide recognition. Within the first decade of the present century, over \$60,000,000 was expended in this country in furthering the playground movement. There are now thousands of playgrounds, located in the larger cities, having paid supervision, and representing the expenditure of millions of dollars of public money for the purpose of making helpful play activities possible at a nominal cost or free of charge to huddled urban people.

Seven main stages in the playground movement in this country have been clearly analyzed by Clarence E. Rainwater. These are: (a) the sand garden stage, (b) the model playground stage, (c) the small park stage, (d) the recreation center stage,

(e) the civic art and welfare stage, (f) the neighborhood organization stage, and (g) the community service stage. This exhibit reveals the general trend of an important social development.

The playground movement has tended toward an all-year playground service; it has taken into consideration the young working boys and girls as well as school children. It has reached into the adult world and organized whole communities, giving them an opportunity to decide upon the type of recreation that they need, encouraging them to provide recreation for themselves at a minimum charge, and withal and indirectly developing in them a social consciousness and a community participation which lies at the heart of any truly democratic life.

Dr. Rainwater has summarized the nine leading transitions in the play movement as follows: (a) from provision for little children to that for all ages of people; (b) from facilities operated during the summer only, to those operated throughout the year; (c) from outdoor equipment and activities only, to both outdoor and indoor facilities and events; (d) from congested urban districts to both urban and rural communities; (e) from philanthropic to community support and control; (f) from "free" play and miscellaneous events to "directed" play with organized activities and correlated schedules; (g) from a simple to a complex field of activities including manual, physical, aes-

thetic, social, and civic projects; (h) from the provision of facilities to the definition of standards for the use of leisure time; and (i) from "individual" interests to "group" and community activities.

The playground movement rests upon the principles that the dominant interest in the life of youth is play, not work, and that the best development at this age comes from play rather than work. It also represents the principle that adults need wholesome and constructive play which will offer true recuperation from a neurasthenic urban pace.

(2) The public school has had its playground, but no organized play activities. Recently it has caught a new impetus from the playground movement, and consequently boards of education are providing playground directors not only for school days but for the holidays and vacations, when in metropolitan districts such directors are most needed.

The public school is becoming a recreation and civic center. For educational purposes the schools ordinarily are used less than eight hours a day, five days in the week, and nine or ten months in the year. They lie idle perhaps fifty per cent of the time which they might be used. The ways in which this time for recreation center activities could be utilized was demonstrated in 1907 in Rochester, New York, where the gymnasiums were opened in the evening for the use of adults as well as children;

where folk dancing, music, and dramatics were encouraged; and where banquets and public meetings became common.

(3) The social settlements and institutions doing similar work have usually given emphasis to recreational needs. They have generally been located in the heart of congested districts, and hence have been quick to appreciate the few constructive opportunities for play which the poorer people have at their command. They have responded to this need splendidly, despite the limited means at their disposal. They have pioneered; the successful methods which they have worked out, have sometimes been adopted by the city or district and put into operation on a large scale by the use of public money. They understand the needs of the masses; and hence are in strategic positions relative to formulating a socio-recreational procedure.

(4) Public parks have afforded only a small amount of recreation for the working people who have needed most the advantages that parks offer. They have been located usually in the wealthy and well-to-do sections of the city. Park boards have merely entered upon the heavy program before them of improving and extending the play facilities of publicly owned spaces.

(5) The churches are beginning to recognize that wholesome play activities are normal social products. The recreation impulses are such powerful

forces for the moral good or ill of children, young people, and adults that churches are beginning to assume a positive attitude toward them. Some churches have been among the chief agents in bringing about the establishment of playgrounds and recreation centers. While this work may be taken over later by the school or city, the pioneer experiments and the splendid examples that are set are in themselves worth while. The church may hold not only socials and similar meetings but in a large way take the lead in making helpful provision for the recreational life of boys and girls.

In many instances the churches have lead the battle in suppressing evil amusements. They may well go further and assume the leadership in bringing public opinion to the point where it will demand that socialized provisions be made for meeting the play attitudes of all the people.

In providing for a more extended socialization of play a comprehensive procedure is needed, one which all can and will support. It includes (1) the education of the public regarding basic considerations. For example, the public should perceive how modern industry and the city have created home conditions for the masses that are too crowded and ill-arranged to permit the enjoyable spending of leisure time within the home. The public needs to perceive how commercial enterprise has taken advantage of the play attitude, catering to

the play impulses of every age-period in life, and "to every grade of intellectual, artistic, and moral development." The public needs to appreciate how commercialized recreation in developing under a *laissez faire* public policy has led often to the moral and economic exploitation of children and to the deterioration of adults. Recreation under modern complex conditions can no longer be left entirely to individual and commercial control.

Public control cannot neglect the fact that children and adults alike require and will have amusements of some sort. Such control must not be merely repressive of existing evil tendencies, but must also be constructive. Every community, rural and urban, may well have a recreation committee or commission to study the play needs of their respective communities and see that they are wholesomely provided for.

(2) A recreation body will find its largest work in planning and providing for the future. If the given community is a crowded urban district, the duties of the recreation body will be strenuous also with reference to meeting present needs. The situation will require adequate surveys of recreation needs and facilities, definite correlation of available recreative means, and constructive programs moving in many directions.

There will be a need for state recreation commissions in order to correlate the work of rural and

urban recreation leaders. In fact, so great is the scope of recreation needs that a national recreation commission has important functions to perform in correlating the work of state commissions and promoting new methods. Recreation committees and commissions have at their command a considerable number of principles of procedure for the socialization of play.

(3) The development of home recreation is essential. Even in comfortable homes there has arisen a tendency for the young people to get away after the dinner hour in order to enjoy themselves, thus driving the iron wedge of isolation into home life. After all, the home has perhaps the best possibilities of becoming a socialized recreation center. Recreation responsibilities for children rest urgently upon parents.

(4) The conservation of home yards for play purposes is important. The co-operation of recreation commissions and housing commissions may produce beneficent results in preserving not only garden space but small play spaces.

(5) The provision of small playgrounds for young children is another standard need. In Philadelphia, a study of the attendance at playgrounds showed that seventy-four per cent of the attendance of the younger children was from homes within three blocks, or five minutes walk, of such playgrounds. The radius of efficiency of a playground,

according to the Milwaukee study, was from one-fourth to one-half a mile.

For adolescents over fourteen years of age in cities of size, larger playfields and parks should be provided within twenty minutes walk of any home. Another safe rule to follow is to spend twice as much on supervision as on any special form of equipment.

(6) The use of school grounds throughout the year as neighborhood playgrounds under supervision is important in congested city districts. The school property may become an excellent civic and social center for the neighborhood.

(7) Small parks for breathing spaces, larger parks for outings, and even mountain parks for camping parties may well be developed before land values become prohibitive.

(8) All philanthropic institutions need ample play provisions, a point that Bessie D. Stoddart has well stated: Play is needed in homes for the aged because of the relief from dreariness which it offers. It is needed in hospitals for the insane, because of its curative and educational value. It is needed in the homes for the feeble-minded, because of its value in developing latent ability. It is needed in homes for the care of epileptics, of the chronically ill, and of the blind and deaf, for its cheering and educational value. It is needed in orphanages to create the atmosphere of the normal home and to

keep children from becoming institutionalized. It is needed in reform schools and homes for delinquent children in order to develop constructive impulses and to curb destructive ones. It is needed in jails and penitentiaries to help reform those who are imprisoned and re-create in them a favorable attitude toward normal group life. In other words provisions for useful play are needed by all persons who are physically, mentally, or morally afflicted, as much as by normal persons.

(9) One of the most difficult tasks is that of securing proper inspection, control, and suppression where needed, of the commercialized amusements of the day, including dance halls and academies, cafes, drinking-inns, the theaters, and motion-picture houses. In suppressing commercialized amusements, it is usually wise to provide adequate, constructive substitutes. In controlling them, it is clear that they must be measured by standards of true recreation rather than of deterioration.

(10) Socialized play must distinguish between amusement and recreation. Amusement is the passive, relaxing phase of play; it is the spectator phase. The amused person is one usually who sits still and looks on while some one else plays or works or overworks. Recreation on the other hand is the active re-creative element in play; it is the constructive, invigorating phase.

A current tendency is to accentuate amusement

at the expense of recreation. The emphasis may safely be reversed. The majority of adults and many adolescents can secure ample amusement in real recreation; in fact, many persons obtain genuine recreation through their work, providing that it contains opportunities for creative expression. Work which is so specialized that it contains no interesting elements, and which is merely repeating the task of making one-eighteenth of a pin all day long and day after day and week after week, compels the worker to look to the end of the day or week for his recreation. Such work however is abnormal. The stress should be placed on play as a creating and re-creating process, and of maintaining those forms of work which contain a large percentage of recreative elements. Only socialized play groups are truly helpful.

PROBLEMS

1. Distinguish between play and work.
2. What is the main function of a football game?
3. Why is making artificial flowers, work; and climbing Mont Blanc, play?
4. If giving up tobacco is necessary for physical fitness in preparation for football games, why is it not given up in preparation for the strenuous activities of daily life?
5. Explain the statement that the parks are often too far away from the individuals who need them.
6. What is the tenement child's most common playground?
7. Explain: "Milwaukee spends a thousand years of leisure each week."
8. Is it often true that an American's idea of a holiday is a fatiguing journey?
9. Who is in greater need of provision for play, the children of the poor or of the rich?
10. What are the main arguments for and against censorship of motion pictures?

CHAPTER IX

THE OCCUPATIONAL GROUP

HUMAN LIFE is focused first in the family and play groups. In adolescence the occupational group begins to receive attention. Play and work are or may be closely related if not synonymous, or they may be disjunctive. As long as a person finds a full supply of new and interesting possibilities in any activity, he is playing; when the center of interest shifts to an end or goal outside the specific activity, play is sublimated into work, and an occupational status has been established.

As an individual develops and his horizon expands, life becomes divided into means and ends. The attitude of considering every activity as a means to an end becomes fixed, and living becomes working. The tendency is to shift the object of interest from the activity of the moment to a more or less remote goal. Through overspecialization modern industry has tended to rob normal work activities of focii of interest; the workman comes to view his day's work, not for its creative opportunities, but as a means to an end, which is commonly the pay check.

1. *Occupational Beginnings.* Among early human groups, the elemental impulse of hunger, perhaps more than any other influence led to industrial activity. Primitive people satisfied this impulse by searching for food and by living upon what they could raise. Hence they gorged and starved, feasted and fasted, according to their skill or luck in finding food.

As an aid in this search for food, primitive people invented crude weapons and tools. Man—the only tool-using animal—invented knives for cutting, scrapers for abrasing, hammers for fracturing, needles and awls for perforating, tongs for grasping, and so on, throughout a long list of increasingly complex implements. It was a remarkable advance when man learned how to kindle a fire, and could use fire for cooking purposes. Another achievement is represented by the discovery of drying foods in the sun or before a fire, as a means of preserving them for times of scarcity.

Man moved forward again when he learned to domesticate animals. This domestication resulted in giving the human race valuable assistance in its industrial activities; in the dog, man had an assistant in the chase; and in the ox, a beast of burden.

The digging stick, as the forerunner of hoe-culture and later of agriculture, was used to scratch the surface of the soil for the planting of seeds. For long centuries, doubtless, women with digging sticks

and similar crude implements managed to raise a few herbs and roots, and thus provide against periods of famine. In the meantime, men were engaged chiefly in the pursuit of the hunt and chase.

Another forward step was taken when domesticated animals were kept in flocks and herds, thus providing a stable food supply. Pastoral and nomadic life developed. In order to secure pasturage, it was necessary for the people to wander with the flocks up the valleys and mountain slopes in the summer and back again in the winter.

Along with the development of hoe-culture, agriculture, and pastoral occupations, there arose the institution of private property. Tools and weapons were early considered to be the private property of the maker of them. With the increase of flocks and herds the institution of private property seems to have become well established. Land and pasturage, however, were first considered group property. Each tribe or group possessed its generally recognized territory, throughout which it might wander with its flocks.

The use of land as an occupational activity is primeval and universal. Hoe-culture including the protection of roots and tubers for future consumption developed into tillage of the soil with oxen and plough. When men turned from the hunt as a means of livelihood to hoe-culture which was developed first probably by women, they made application of

the technical skill which they had acquired. As a result, hoe-culture was supplanted by crude forms of agriculture.

With the rise of agriculture, primitive groups passed from the flesh diet of nomadism to a predominant use of vegetable foods. The roaming life of hunting days and pastoral nomadism gave way to the settled life of agriculture. With the cultivation of the soil and the accompanying vast increase in food supply, population multiplied. Agriculture made fixed abodes necessary, augmented population, and led to the establishment of village communities. All these changes led to the production of new forms of wealth. The creation of wealth in itself became an occupation.

With stationary abodes, the holding of slaves became feasible. Slavery acquired an occupational status. Under nomadism and earlier forms of human existence the food supply was so small and uncertain and life was so migratory that it was usually necessary to kill captives taken in warfare. With the rise of agricultural occupations, it was better to enslave captives than to kill them. The cultivation of the soil by slave labor represented at first an advance. Slavery gradually became economically unprofitable and was ultimately supplanted by free labor.

Down to the middle of the eighteenth century, agriculture was the leading occupational activity of

mankind. The serf system of cultivating the soil existed for centuries. Then, free labor and the wage system were found to be more profitable. With the Industrial Revolution and the manufacture of tools on a large scale came new agricultural developments. The division of land into farms under independent ownership became common. The increase in population and in the demand for food tended to bring about a change from extensive to modern intensive farming and to establish the scientific agriculture of the twentieth century.

Current agricultural problems are numerous; the discussion of them will be elaborated in the chapter on Rural and Urban Groups. It is difficult to maintain upon farms, for example in the United States, a class of people who have succeeded; they move to the cities, thus depriving rural districts of their experiences, stirring attitudes, and leadership. Furthermore, tenant farming is on the increase; it is becoming more and more difficult for a young man without means to marry, rear a family, and pay for a farm. Young people of initiative and education leave the farms for the city; rural leadership is depleted. The rise of land values under private ownership tends to bring about the concentration of land ownership in the hands of a small percentage of the population. Land and food may ultimately become so precious that it will be necessary to limit the amount of land that one person or a group of

persons may own and to limit rentals. Speculation in land creates untold hardship for young people who have initiative and character but who possess no economic advantages. In its methods of social control of land the national group may well encourage rather than penalize young men and women who wish to establish homes on rural acreage of their own.

The home attitude of young people in the United States is changing; they are giving up the desire to own their own homes and are becoming content to live as tenants and spend their lives "in going up and down other people's stairways." The responsibility for this attitude rests, not primarily upon the young people, but upon those who are profiting from special economic privileges derived from the present system of land ownership and who selfishly refuse to sacrifice special privilege for the sake of other people, of little children, and of national welfare.

2. *Labor and Unionization.* According to the earliest occupational divisions men engaged in hunting and fighting, while women cared for the children, did the work about the habitations, and gave some attention to hoe-culture. Settled agricultural activities crystalized and slavery developed. Inasmuch as people who worked for wages acquired an attitude of personal independence, they did more

work per day than slaves, or even than serfs; free labor thus ultimately supplanted both slave and serf labor.

Among primitive specializations of labor, the activities of medicine men and priests are noteworthy. The persons in these occupations possessed a superior technique for controlling the minds of their fellows. Their so-called superior knowledge was usually a highly organized form of superstition and magic. Nevertheless, from similar unscientific origins nearly all the modern professions have arisen.

A profession may be distinguished from a trade in that the latter deals primarily with material things and transforms these useful commodities, whereas the former deals with service and the creation of health, knowledge, happiness, better government, and better living. The professional groups have originated class ethics, class organizations, and class attitudes. They have usually been allied with the higher well-to-do and wealthy groups. Often they have represented the middle class attitude and served as a steady mean between the economic extremes. Each profession has developed a high degree of pride, and possesses a strong occupational mind. This mind has produced biases, narrowmindedness, and intolerance which are to be charged to over-specialization and lack of specialization.

Free labor and the wage system led to the organization of labor. The craft guilds of mediaeval times were among the first organizations of productive forces; these included both merchant or manufacturer and employee.

The rise of the factory system in the latter part of the eighteenth century drew laborers together under single roofs, giving them a basis for class consciousness. They were drawn away from the homes of their employers where they worked under the domestic system of industry, and thus they lost touch with the employer's point of view. When employer and employee lost contact with each other under the factory system modern industrial troubles began; each ceased to accommodate himself to the other's situation.

The application of steam as a motive force in operating machinery revolutionized industry. Hand-driven tools were supplanted by power-driven machinery; and the home as the unit of production gave way to the factory. Although the factory system and large-scale production imply mutual dependence, the loss of personal contact between employer and employee has led to endless industrial troubles. Labor began to organize for its own protection; capital likewise organized for its own advancement. Labor wished to secure control of industry; capital wished to dominate. Two large and powerful classes have arisen with a black gulf be-

tween them.

During the nineteenth century labor unions in the United States developed from the status of local organizations to national trade unions, and then into a general federation, the American Federation of Labor. They believe in collective bargaining, that is, that the representatives of the unions shall meet with the representatives of the given employers, and together determine wage scales, hours of labor, and other conditions of work.

The trade unionists use two main methods: arbitration and strikes. They are usually willing to abide by the rule of arbitration, providing they are sure that a fair board of arbitrators has been chosen. Reasonable trade unionists believe that broad-minded employers and they, after friendly discussion of disputed points, will agree. They prefer the personal method of meeting employers through representatives; they urge arbitration. They insist that if capital has the right to organize, labor has a similar right. They ask that the representatives of organized labor be accorded a fair hearing by the representatives of organized capital.

If denied what they consider a fair hearing, trade unionists call a strike; they lay down their tools and walk out. This method is a powerful weapon. In recent years the strike has become a menace to the public, for example, a general railroad strike, paralyzing the means of transporting food and

bringing starvation to the doors of the poor. If the public denies labor the right to strike, as seems necessary, the public is under obligation to provide labor with other means of obtaining justice.

The moderate trade unionist, following the analysis by V. S. Yarros, is not a revolutionist; he does not think of overthrowing the present social and economic system. He does not object to the wage system, nor to property being held by individuals.

He asks for more pay, shorter hours, and safer and healthier conditions of work. He will always be making these three requests. He wants more and more pay, for the same reason that the capitalist always wants more dividends. He urges shorter and shorter hours, for he sees many people no more worthy than himself who are not working at all, but living luxuriously and as it seems to him at his expense. He will always possess a desire for better conditions of labor, because he feels that he is entitled to a share in the advances that are being registered by inventions and discoveries.

The moderate trade unionist has been described as having no Utopian schemes, as dealing with immediate problems, as priding himself on his reasonableness and practicality, as believing in private capital if it is not used as an instrument of special privilege, and as protesting against the prejudices, the lack of sympathy and comprehension, and the

distrust shown by the capitalist. On the other hand he has often created a trade union autocracy and personified the spirit of selfishness and narrow class control.

Sociology believes in the principle of "come, let us reason together," and in methods of adjudicating differences by discussing them frankly, and in a friendly manner. It believes that labor and capital have the same right to organize, and that the representatives of organized labor have the same right to a fair hearing as have the representatives of organized capital.

Sociology does not approve of the selfishness, arbitrariness and desire for class control of either unionists or capitalists. It does not excuse union labor in its schemes of using dynamite; neither does it condone organized capital in its schemes of stock-watering, and speculating in the necessities of life. It agrees with Abraham Lincoln who said in his first presidential address to Congress: "Labor is the superior of capital, and deserves much the higher consideration."

3. *Child Labor.* Every child should have regular work to do, as well as opportunity to play. Children however should not enter gainful occupations for full time employment at an age which precludes their normal development. Since the introduction of the factory system, children have been employed

at regular work eight, ten, or twelve hours a day while still at the beginning of their adolescence. The industries which according to recent reports employ children at too early an age are cotton manufacture, silk manufacture, glass manufacture, agriculture, the canneries, the sweated clothing trades, the street trades, and mining.

The costs of child labor are heavy. (1) The effect upon bodily growth and physical development is serious. Child labor operates against a symmetrical development of strength, vigor, and substantial healthfulness. It generally causes a one-sided development of the body, or the over-use of certain muscles at the expense of others scarcely developed at all. (2) The boy who begins work in industry at an early age will have a total earning power much less than that of the youth who does not begin his working life until he is physically developed. A boy who enters industry at twelve or fourteen years of age suffers an early depletion of his physical powers and the shortening of the working period of life.

(3) The boy or girl who goes to work in industry is debarred from completing a needed education; his educational period is cut short, and his full powers are never developed. Although occasionally a boy overcomes the handicaps and becomes a successful business man, it is safe to say that a large majority of working boys and girls are kept from

successful careers because of early deprivation of educational advantages. (4) It has been found that delinquency is from two to four times as high among working boys as among boys regularly attending school. The working child often falls in with the rougher type of unskilled and casual labor, and acquires harmful information; his companions influence him in vicious ways. He has money to spend, and therefore does not feel a full sense of responsibility to parental control. He comes often from a broken home or from a home where poverty rules.

The causes of unfavorable child labor conditions are numerous. (1) The greed of ignorant parents is an outstanding factor. Many parents among both the foreign born and native born still consider their growing children as economic assets from which financial returns in the form of wages may be immediately received. The idea once prevailed that the larger the number of children in the family, the larger the family income might grow as a result of putting the children into gainful employments at an early age. Boys on the farm have often been taken out of school because of their capacity to labor, but at the expense of a needed education.

(2) Although many boys and girls are employed, even when their parents enjoy a reasonable standard of living, it is known that perhaps thirty per cent of gainfully employed children belong to fam-

ily groups which are definitely suffering from economic pressure. The accompanying table, prepared from a United States government report on women and child wage earners, shows the relation between economic necessity and other causes:

TABLE I
CAUSES OF CHILD LABOR

1. Economic necessity	30.0 per cent
2. Unnecessary parental demands	27.9 " "
3. Child's dissatisfaction with school	26.6 " "
4. Child's anxiety to work	9.8 " "
5. Other causes	5.7 " "

(3) The child's attitude is significant. For various reasons, sometimes his own shortsightedness, and sometimes the school's inflexibility, he becomes dissatisfied with school life and seeks work. Many children discontinue school despite protests of parents. Boys are prone to develop a spirit of independence and become anxious to demonstrate their working capacity. The impulse grows because the boy has friends who are earning money and boasting about it. Few experiences thrill a boy more than the first wages he receives.

(4) The attitude of the employer is responsible for much child labor. His responsibility rests first upon the fact that he willingly accepts or invites

children. By so doing he encourages the tendency of parents and of child workers in their willingness to continue the evils of child labor.

(5) The rise of the factory system with its minute subdivision of labor has made it possible to separate the lighter forms of labor from the more difficult, and thus to encourage the employment of children. Many types of work have developed, as in the cotton mills and the glass factories, which require chiefly time, and running to and fro, and hence have been assigned to children. Again, modern improvements have made certain types of machines so nearly automatic that boys and even girls can operate them; thus adolescents are often substituted for adults.

(6) The public must bear a large share of the responsibility for the existence of child labor, because it can eliminate much of the evil by seriously opposing the practice. The public is thoughtlessly willing to permit child labor for the purpose of self-support of dependent parents and of the child; it does not appreciate the necessity of seeking economic means of relief for the child or the parents. The public does not fully recognize the ultimate effects of premature child labor.

Child labor legislation is gaining ground. The most advanced child labor laws in the United States are found in the north and west, while the weakest and least satisfactory exist in the southern and cot-

ton mill states. Several northern states, however, have been compelled to fight bitterly for progressive legislation, especially such states as Pennsylvania. These laws relate either positively or negatively to eight points, namely: (1) One of the vital considerations in a child labor law is the age limit below which gainful employment is prohibited. (2) The physical qualifications need to be put high, in order properly to safeguard the health of the child. (3) Educational requirements protect the child's mental development, outlook upon life, and usefulness as a citizen. (4) The number of hours of labor a day constitutes a health as well as an economic and social question. (5) Night work is unjustifiable, because of the natural abnormality. (6) It is necessary to require working papers or certificates of children between fourteen and sixteen or eighteen years of age, as a means of protecting them against unscrupulous employers. (7) It is vital that children be safeguarded from hazardous occupations. (8) The exemptions which are made in agricultural or canning factory work may easily come to constitute a rule rather than exceptions, and entail wholesale losses upon children. (9) Legislation regarding street trades requires special attention because of a misinformed public attitude, which assumes that a little child selling newspapers on a dangerous street and running wild in unsupervised alleys infested by older boys of a vicious

nature is representative of an ideal situation. (10) The welfare of business and industry is being shifted to include the welfare of adolescent and other immature employees as a primary consideration.

Children are the citizens of tomorrow; they are entitled to a full and balanced development of all their talents, an education inculcating the highest principles of self-control dedicated to unselfish service. In their occupational outlooks they are entitled to a set of thoroughly wholesome, creative, and social attitudes.

PROBLEMS

1. What is labor?
2. What is an occupation?
3. Why should everyone work?
4. Should labor organize?
5. Is collective bargaining justifiable?
6. Why was there no such gulf between the laboring and employing classes two centuries ago as exists today?
7. What are the grounds for legislating in behalf of laboring men?
8. What are blind alley jobs?
9. Who is the chief gainer from child labor? The chief loser?
10. Explain: Child labor is child robbery.
11. Why does an adolescent boy have strong desires for earning money?
12. Explain: The newsboy needs your protection, not your patronage.
13. Why is the accident rate for children in industry higher than for adults?
14. How can you personally help in solving child labor problems?
15. What is the best test of a successful worker?
16. Make out a minimum budget for a workingman and his family including a wife and three children.
17. Does anyone in this country earn more than the President and hence should he receive a larger income?
18. Should anyone be paid as much as he earns?

CHAPTER X

THE OCCUPATIONAL GROUP

(Continued)

4. *Women in Industry.* The rapidity with which women have entered industry in the United States since the close of the Civil War has been amazing. The number of women and of girls over ten years of age who are in gainful employments passed the ten million mark about 1912. Women in large numbers are working for wages in (1) the textile and clothing trades, (2) the metal trades, (3) agriculture, (4) household employment, (5) mercantile establishments, and (6) miscellaneous employments, such as is represented by telephone operators, cigar makers, paper box manufacturers, and laundry workers.

The leading problems which have arisen from the employment of women in industry will now be analyzed. (1) It has been demonstrated many times that one of the saddest chapters in human history is connected with the fact that the machine which man invented to relieve him of labor and to produce economic values more rapidly has led to the factory system of labor, and that women and children are forced to follow their work to the factory. "The

machine," continues W. I. Thomas, "which was invented to save human energy and which is so great a boon when the individual controls it, is a terrible thing when it controls the individual. Power-driven, it has almost no limit whatever to its endurance, and it has no nerves. When, therefore, the machine is speeded up and the girl operating it, is speeded up to its pace, we have finally a situation in which the machine destroys the worker."

(2) Then there is the question of long hours, overtime, and overfatigue. Eight hours of labor for women in industry is recognized as a long enough day. A day longer than eight hours is likely to cause harmful results to the physical and mental organism of woman. When subjected to long hours of industrial labor for years, women are likely to become low grade mothers. Their children suffer, and both mother and child are subjected to the danger of nervous and physical breakdown.

The girl who goes rapidly through the routine processes of wrapping caramels every day, or who threads the almost invisible Tungsten filament through a tiny hole at the rate of three every minute, or one thousand a day, or who operates an electric sewing machine that carries ten needles sewing ten seams at a speed so fast that the needles are ten streaks of light, this girl becomes less than human, unfit to be a mother and a citizen.

Overfatigue represents the most subtle effect of

occupational activity; it affects women employed even more seriously than it does men, and hence is considered here rather than in the preceding chapter. It is also a serious factor in the child labor situation.

Overfatigue may be considered as the result of a chemical process. In consequence there is danger of producing a continual tearing down of muscle and nerve tissues, without an adequate building up of the same. In this way fatigue substances or toxins may circulate in the blood, poisoning brain and neural system, muscles, glands, and other organs.

The results of overfatigue are many. (a) Overfatigue causes industrial inefficiency. As a rule, poorer and less work is done in the last hours of a long day's work than in the earlier hours.

(b) Overfatigue causes industrial accidents. In general, the liability to accidents increases with the passing of the hours of the day. After studying a large number of industrial accidents, the writer has found that for 9,000 accidents which occur in the second hour of work, 12,000 occur in the third hour, and approximately 15,000 in the fourth hour. The increase of 3,000 accidents in the third hour, and of 6,000 in the fourth hour over the number of accidents in the second, represents in mathematical terms fairly well the extent to which fatigue causes accidents.

(c) Overfatigue assists the advance of disease,

especially of a contagious disease. An overworked person is more susceptible to pneumonia, tuberculosis, and typhoid fever than is one whose vital resistance is normal. With fatigue toxins in the body, the organism is seriously, often fatally handicapped in meeting the invasion of pathogenic bacteria. A not uncommon succession of events is, first, overfatigue; then "colds"; then pneumonia or tuberculosis; then, death.

(d) Overfatigue accentuates nervous diseases. Long hours of work at a feverish pace lead to nervous breakdown. Unscrupulous employers who are abusing the principles of scientific management are guilty of turning many of their employees into lightning-like machines. The neural system, not built for such a pace, breaks down after a time.

(e) Future generations will suffer from the fatigue of the present generation. The children of perennially tired parents are in danger of being physical weaklings.

(f) Fatigue often has an untoward effect upon the morals of working people. It increases human susceptibility to temptation, causes a person to turn almost anywhere for relaxation, and leads him to neglect his own welfare and that of his family as well.

(3) The question of wages is significant. While some girls can afford to work for low wages, inasmuch as their need is for "pin money," the large

percentage are supporting themselves or others. Since the majority must compete with the girl who works for "pin money," they are sometimes compelled to accept less wages than they earn. Low wages may lead not only to physical suffering, but also to moral danger. Mary Van Kleeck is the authority for the statement that low wages have made thousands of girls practically defenseless.

(4) There is a comparative lack of ambition on the part of many working girls and women to attain high industrial efficiency or to advance above certain levels. This attitude is due partly to the "I should worry" spirit of the times, and partly to the expectation of marriage.

(5) To the extent that the wife and children enter industry, the wages of the husband and father are thereby reduced. There is much evidence to show that the income of the male wage-earner when working alone is as great as the combined wages of the man himself, his wife, and the children, when the wife and children enter into industry in competition with the male wage-earner. The composite wage of all the members of the family is not likely to exceed the income of the male wage earner when employed alone.

(6) The employment of married women in industry has serious phases. Several years ago in the United States the number of married women gainfully employed passed the one million mark. To an

extent these facts mean that homes and especially young children are neglected.

(7) Another vexatious problem is that of organizing women in industry. Some decades ago, the members of men's labor unions refused to admit women to the unions. Today a changed attitude exists; men's unions now try to induce women to organize, to ask collectively for higher wages and for better living conditions—and thus not to compete against men.

There are great difficulties in the matter of organizing women in industry. Large numbers of them are only temporarily employed; they have simply a temporary interest in the conditions of their work. The majority are under twenty-five years of age; they are not as seriously interested in improving the conditions of their work as they would be if they were older. Another difficulty is that there are relatively few good leaders among women wage-earners.

(8) The two leading methods of improving the working conditions of women in industry are legislation and education. In many countries legislation has been passed providing for shorter hours and better wages. Such legislation is essential, not only for women employees, but also for the employer who desires efficient workers in order to protect him against the successful underbidding of unscrupulous competitors. Minimum wage legislation was

first passed in 1894 in New Zealand. It spread to England in 1910, and then to various states in this country. On the whole, it is working well.

The educational method of improving the conditions of women in industry applies to three groups. Employers need to be trained to a full sense of responsibility relative to the welfare of employees and the conditions under which they work. Women and girls should know what conditions they may reasonably expect, and be trained to organize, even as capital organized, in order to secure for themselves at least the minimum essentials of living, of family obligations, and of industrial and public welfare. The public in turn must have a keen sense of what constitutes full economic and social justice.

5. *Dangerous Occupations and Unemployment.*

The approximate number of fatal industrial accidents among wage-earners in the United States has been about 25,000 a year for several years past. The number of non-fatal but serious industrial accidents involving a disability of two or more weeks has averaged about one million a year. The most dangerous general industry is that of mining; navigation and railroad transportation are also high in the list. There follow occupations, such as electrical work, quarrying, lumbering, building, and draying.

According to John B. Andrews, industry maims

more men than war ever did. H. R. Seager has pointed out that the United States has shown a larger proportion of industrial accidents on its railroads and in its mines and factories than any other civilized land. Industry, says G. L. Campbell, is doubly wasteful of life and efficiency. "It may be charged not only with the extravagance of killing and maiming yearly thousands of workers, but it seems to choose for its victims many persons in the prime of manhood, normally with years of life before them, and with obligations but partly discharged to wives and children . . . It is evident that the victims are usually young men, that the majority of them have families, and that the standard of living of these families is greatly lowered by losses due to injuries. The tale of industrial accidents is at best a tale of destitution, blighted hopes, and arrested development."

Occupational diseases are common; they consist of those diseases which are caused directly by the nature of the occupation in which the wage-earner is working, such as lead poisoning, caisson disease, or even tuberculosis. The worker himself may be quite ignorant of such sickness-producing conditions. The employer may be only slightly interested in the welfare of the employees, and neglect to protect them against danger. In some cases the poisonous character of the materials used produces diseases, for example, in the printing trades, in

plumbing, and in making phosphorous matches. The poison seeps into the human organism day by day, and in time becomes a main cause or a leading secondary cause of disease. An amount of dust, especially of coal dust or steel dust, in the air where men work produces disease by lacerating the lungs and making them subject to bacterial invasions.

Again, sudden changes in temperature, as is the case with steel workers in entering and leaving the furnace rooms, cause disease. Men who work in caissons pass in a few minutes from normal air pressure to air pressure three times or possibly four times the normal, and then at the close of work return to normal air pressure again. Such experiences day after day are disease-producing. Many occupations therefore kill and maim not only by sudden processes but also by slow, subtle ones. The related questions of accident compensation and sickness insurance will be presented in the next chapter.

Unemployment for short or long periods of time is an occupational problem. In many industries there are rush and slack seasons. During the latter, many workers are laid off for several weeks or given part-time work.

In the mining industry, for example, the mines are closed at least one-fifth of the time, due to storms, accidents, breaking of machinery, and strikes. Trade union statistics show that skilled workers are unemployed sometimes as high as twen-

ty-five and thirty per cent of a given year.

There are two classes of the unemployed: one class is composed of those who would work but cannot find it; the other class is marked by a lack of desire to work. The fluctuations in the demand for economic goods, the changes in the seasons with the coming of the dull periods, and similar factors cause many thousands to be thrown out of employment annually. Then there are the persons who do not want to work regularly or who do not want to work at all. Many of these are wholly responsible for their attitudes; others, only partly so. Many men start out in life with a keen desire to work and earn money, but become temporarily unemployed, start to live from hand to mouth, and then acquire habits of idleness and unsteadiness.

It may be said that unemployment is a national problem; there is need for a national commission and national policies. The government might save large national labor projects for times of national depression. If states or provinces, counties, and municipalities could and would do likewise, a large measure of unemployment would be alleviated. Since every month of the year has its busy seasons for some industries and its dull seasons for other industries, a rotation might be devised for shifting employees in the dull seasons of certain industries to the industries which are experiencing rush orders.

Such a program involves the establishment of

free national employment bureaus. For the persons whom the bureaus could not place, trade schools could be provided, enabling the temporarily unemployed persons to improve in skill and become master of more than one trade. As an educational venture the nation would find such a program economically and patriotically worth while. No nation can afford to have a large unemployed class remaining idle. If a man refused work, or refused educational training, he should be sent to a detention farm where he would be put to agricultural and other work and subjected to reformatory influences.

In these ways a large percentage of the unemployment problem would be solved. Everybody would either be working, or if out of work, would not be lying around acquiring disintegrating habits, but could secure school and trade training, or if refusing the latter opportunity, would be placed under the reforming influences of an agricultural detention farm. Such a plan, which was first developed in England by Sidney and Beatrice Webb, might be modified to meet conditions in other countries as well.

Another group of unemployed are the idle rich. These constitute nationally an even graver problem than the idle poor, because they consume heavily and divert production into the field of luxuries and from the field of necessities, thus decreasing the supply of the latter and increasing the prices of these

necessities. The idle rich, moreover, feel themselves superior to the man who works for a living and thus develop into an aristocracy of spendthrifts.

6. *Poverty*. A failure to engage in an occupation, except in the case of the hereditarily rich, leads to poverty. Adults who are unable to provide for their own needs for a length of time represent a state of poverty.

A classification of people into four economic groups has been made by W. I. King. The first group is composed of persons who own property to the extent of \$50,000, or more. If they choose, they may live mainly on the income from their property. The upper middle class includes the well-to-do, possessing property valued from \$2,000 to \$50,000. Although they derive a share of their income from investments, they are also dependent upon their own exertions.

The lower middle class consists of those persons who possess a small amount of property, valued from \$1,000 to \$2,000. This amount yields them no noticeable income, but is sufficient to help tide them over in times of emergency. The remaining group, the poor, possess little property, chiefly furniture, clothing, and other personal belongings, ranging in value from a few dollars to several hundred dollars.

According to this classification the rich constitute two per cent of the population of the United States ;

the upper middle class, eighteen per cent of the population of the United States; the lower middle class, fifteen per cent; and the poor comprise a startling percentage, namely, sixty-five per cent of the total population. The rich two per cent possess about sixty per cent of the wealth of the entire country; the upper middle class, fifteen per cent of the total wealth; and the poor, constituting sixty-five per cent and over 65,000,000 people possess the remaining five per cent of the wealth. Although Dr. King's estimates were made some years ago the relative percentages have not suffered material change.

The causes of poverty may be placed under three main headings: (1) poor heredity, (2) poor habits of the individual, and (3) an unfavorable environment. (1) A poor heredity refers to the inheritance of subnormal physical and mental traits; for example, a child may be born mentally defective.

(2) The second set of causes of poverty are those which relate to the habits of the individual. (a) In many countries intemperance enters into many cases of low standards of living. In the days of the saloon in the United States, about twenty per cent of all cases of poverty were probably due to intemperance. The passage of the eighteenth amendment to the Constitution shifted intemperance away from the classes of low economic standards. (b) Sexual vice is believed to be a more serious cause of inefficiency than intemperance. (c)

The gambling spirit ruins many a speculator. (d) Incapacity to judge wisely, often expressed in the form of pure blundering, keeps many wage-earners in the poverty class. This incapacity may be due to a lack of educational opportunity, or to a poor heredity. (e) Shiftlessness is another common cause; the "I should worry" spirit of the wealthy classes has permeated the lower economic ranks. (f) A weak will power is a closely related individual cause of poverty.

(3) The objective or environing causes are numerous. (a) Changes in methods of work have caused large numbers of laborers to be thrown out of employment; for example, when the linotype was introduced, numerous type-setters were displaced, and were without a trade.

(b) Industrial accidents are a leading cause of a low income. When 25,000 wage-earners are killed annually in a country, and 1,000,000 others are seriously injured while at work, the loss in income to families must be high. A large amount of personal capacity is also destroyed. (c) The illness and premature death of the wage-earner is a cause of poverty. A definite percentage of poverty, perhaps fifteen, is due to preventable illness or premature death, aside from cases caused by industrial accidents. Occupational diseases fall three and four times more heavily on wage-earners than on the professional classes, not only in the number of days

of sickness and suffering per year, but also in loss of income.

(d) Child labor is another cause of low or insufficient wages. The youth works for less wages than the adult. If there is competition between the boy and the adult, the latter must work for less pay than he would do otherwise, or lose his job. Furthermore, the boy who goes to work early may become stunted in both body and mind; he may suffer accident; his education is hampered; and he is likely to be doomed to work in the low-wage class.

PROBLEMS

1. Is the presence of women in industry to be encouraged or discouraged?
2. Why do women go into industrial occupations?
3. What are the effects upon the home of the employment of women in industry?
4. Why are state factory inspectors often negligent, even though the lives of girls and women depend upon adequate inspection of factory conditions?
5. What are the main arguments for the eight hour day for women?
6. What are the main arguments for a minimum wage?
7. What factors would you consider, if you were a member of a wage board and asked to determine a minimum wage for women in a given industry?
8. Should equal wages be paid to men and women in the same occupation?

9. Make out a minimum budget for a self supporting young woman who is employed in a department store.
10. In what ways is society responsible for industrial accidents?
11. What is thrift?
12. Could an increased degree of thrift on the part of the working classes remove their prevailing economic insecurity?
13. Is the miser or the spendthrift the more dangerous member of society?
14. Distinguish between poverty and pauperism.
15. Is it true that "abnormally large incomes make abnormally small ones"?
16. Why do some people do charity work as a kind of sport?
17. Who constitute the greater social problem, the idle rich or the idle poor? Why?
18. Which gives the severer test of character, wealth or poverty?

CHAPTER XI

THE OCCUPATIONAL GROUP

(continued)

7. *Capital and the Corporate Group.* The use of steam-driven machinery and the rise of the factory system created a demand for large units of capital. Hence, today, business units vary greatly in size. Modern business is conducted either (1) by individual entrepreneurs, (2) by partnerships, or (3) by the corporate organization in some form. The first method is satisfactory for conducting small enterprises; the second is adequate where capital on a somewhat larger scale is needed; and the corporate form is by far the most important type of business group because of the vast power that it represents. The leading lines of business which have adopted the corporate form of organization are banking, insurance, manufacture, mercantile enterprises, and transportation.

Corporate business units first existed independently of each other. Then there came a period of competition, of cut-throat competition, as it was called. When it became apparent that competition between business units in the same field was disastrous, these units began to combine into larger

groups. One of the earliest types of combination was represented by the agreement of independent concerns to fix prices, and hence to increase profits by restricting competition. The next step was the agreement of business groups to divide the field; each enterprise contracted to limit its activity to a particular section of the field.

A third phase was the pool, or the attempt to restrict the output rather than the price or the field. According to this type of agreement, each member of the combination accepted an allotted percentage of production. Then came the formation of "trusts." By this method, each of the constituent companies turned over the operation of its respective shares of the business to a board of central trustees, and in turn received trust certificates. Each essentially abandoned to the "trust" the entire operation of the given business.

The "holding corporation" developed as a common successor to the "trust." In this connection a new central corporation was formed in order to purchase a majority interest of the stock of individual corporations. Each constituent corporation was operated as a separate unit. The control rested largely in the hands of the parent company. The holding corporation was the "trust" in a new and more effective form.

Then the so-called system of "community of interests" developed. By this method the same group

of directors possesses a controlling voice in the management of each constituent company. It is exceedingly difficult to prevent combinations of this type from taking place. As an alternative, strict government control is being tried with varying success. Government control, however, in the United States has been inadequate to such an extent that the public has not been enthusiastic over it. In European countries, however, it has proved a success.

Combinations of capital result in the elimination of competitive costs, and permit the undertaking of vast enterprises extending over periods of time, with the result that the small, independent producer generally suffers. The corporate group becomes impersonal, and responsibility is difficult to locate. The corporation presents a solid front to organized labor; it makes persistent attempts to control tariff, taxation, and social legislation. It is a powerful and constructive factor in matters of economic advance, but possessed of many and grave social evils. In many countries it has ceased to be respected by the common people, and consequently its social efficiency has been affected.

8. *Socialism.* As a result of the evils which have developed in connection with the institutions of private property and the corporate group, the movement known as socialism has attained such worldwide prominence as to call for consideration by all

students of human society. In general, socialists are opposed to the use of private property, as such, to produce more private property, and they are also hopeless of the labor union method of appealing directly to the employer. When the latter, representing organized capital, refuses to meet the representatives of organized labor, then socialism is advanced by many persons as the only worth while method for meeting the needs of labor.

The socialist makes no war upon capital, as such; he believes in capital, providing all the returns go to labor. Instead of having only a few individuals reaping the returns from capital and land, he would have both owned by the state, and managers employed by the state to operate them—in the same manner as the postal service is governmentally owned in many countries.

Instead of the returns from economic enterprise being divided into four parts, namely, rent, interest, profits, and wages, the socialist urges that all the returns should go to labor, recognizing gradations in labor service. Since land would be owned by the state, no rent would need to be paid, and since capital would be state owned, no interest would be charged. Since both land and capital would be used by the state for the welfare of all the people, there need be no attempt to secure "profits." Thus all the returns from industrial enterprise, according to the socialist's plan, would go in one di-

rection, namely, to labor, ranging from the highest type of superintendence and managerial labor to unskilled labor. No one would receive an income unless he worked; the income would be determined by the skill or managerial ability which the individual showed, and by the social value of his effort.

The socialist does not believe that governmental regulation of the gigantic private monopolies will succeed. He contends that the monopolies have become so powerful that they regulate governments, and even cause wars. The alternative is for government to go all the way and take over the large private businesses.

There are several types of socialists. The Marxian socialists, like Marx, advocate an equal distribution of wealth, a phrase which is commonly misunderstood. It does not refer to the equal distribution of property among all the people, but a distribution primarily of income according to the service rendered or the work accomplished. Marx also developed the class struggle idea—that the struggle between the laboring classes and the employing classes will go from bad to worse until by revolutionary means and by sheer force of numbers the laboring classes will come into control of governments. State socialism involves a gradual process, not a revolutionary cataclysm, whereby the government will ultimately own all the large industries and the land. The Fabian socialists in

England place primary emphasis upon the intellectual method of spreading socialistic concepts rather than upon working out an organized political movement. The Christian socialists find the basis of their beliefs in the teachings of Jesus.

The strong and the weak points of socialism will now be considered: (1) Justice is a strong plea of socialism. It cannot be claimed today to control society. The ideal of socialism is to see that everyone is rewarded in proportion to his services, not to himself, but to society. Ours is a form of economic control which pays one man a million dollars annually merely because he is the son of his father, another man \$10,000 a year for managing the father's business, and other men \$1,000 or \$2,000 a year, each, for furnishing the bulk of the labor. Socialism makes a strong plea for a more just distribution of wealth; it desires to eliminate special privilege. In all sincerity it argues that the large economic rewards should not go to the shrewd and the cunning. It asserts that the big prizes should not all go to those favored by inheritance irrespective of their worth as members of society.

(2) Socialism asks for a more scientific organization of the productive factors in society, and that wasteful competition be eliminated. There are perhaps three times as many milk wagons, horses, and drivers today in this country as are required to serve the people. No one would think of returning

to competitive postmen, that is, of having three or four postmen delivering mail on a given street at the same time and in the employment of as many different competitive companies.

(3) Socialism would eliminate the commercial spirit and profitism. The spirit of producing goods for profit would be removed—as it has been in the mail service. It is argued that today goods are manufactured primarily for profit, that is, primarily for selling purposes rather than because of usefulness. Under socialism it is said that the business of the shop-keeper will be to help the customer find out what he really needs, whereas under capitalism it is often to his interest to sell the customer what he does not need or what will return the largest profits.

(4) Current socialistic propaganda is calling attention to the unjust phases of industrial and social conditions. It fearlessly proclaims the truth about unjust practices and engenders a critical public spirit.

The first weakness of socialism that may be mentioned is (1) its attempt to put into practice an economic system long before people are trained sufficiently to sustain it. It would move too rapidly; it overlooks needed evolutionary measures. (2) Socialism tends to underestimate the premium that is placed by the present system upon thrift and energy. Under capitalism it is the person who within limits

is confronted by the stern necessity of making his own way who is most likely to develop strength of character, at least an individualistic character. Under socialism there would be grave danger that individuals would succumb to the tendency of relying upon the state. The slogan might become: What does it matter, the state will take care of me anyway. (3) Under socialism there would still be serious danger to individual liberty. Under capitalism when political rulers and business magnates combine, the majority of the people are helpless. Under socialism vast political power and absolute economic monopoly would be in the hands of a few persons at a time; moreover such concentrated authority would be fully legal. (4) Socialism puts nearly all its emphasis upon a new *organization* of society. It holds that if you will change the structure of the social order, you will secure the desired improvement. It does not provide for adequate and direct changes in personal character and in personal attitudes toward other classes of people and society. It makes no primary effort to change the selfish attitude which governs people so much of the time.

There is no question but that increasing numbers of persons in many and various parts of the world are coming to look with favor upon socialism. The most thorough and unselfish students of the movement, however, are clearly divided. Sociological

thought has not put its stamp of approval upon socialism, and will not until the psychological, economic, social, and moral objections to it have been met successfully.

The era of "individualism," however, must pass. The *laissez faire* policy of letting individuals operate their own business as they see fit and without acting in accordance with social welfare must be supplanted. Sociology does not hold that either economic individualism or socialism will be the solution of social maladjustments. It does not believe in having all business conducted by governmental enterprise or under individual control alone.

Public monopoly is usually slow in carrying out projects or in initiating new movements; it may also fall into the hands of a few individuals, working together secretly in the interests of a special class. Private monopoly is more likely to favor the interests of a few or a class; it may even attempt to dictate to governments. Both public enterprise with its social interests and private initiative may well be maintained, for each is needed as a stimulus to and a check upon the other.

It now remains to speak of guild socialism, syndicalism, and bolshevism. Guild socialism as the movement that has developed in England is struggling toward the organization of manufacturing establishments as industrial units with the workers in charge and in virtual ownership. It would not in-

terfere with present governmental matters, but content itself purely as an industrial organization procedure.

Guild socialism is to be distinguished from the program of the British Labor Party which is based upon political activity of labor. Through the exercise of the right of suffrage, labor aims to secure and maintain control of the House of Commons and the important administrative positions. The program also includes the principle of nationalization of the chief industries. The method is evolutionary and educational.

Syndicalism in France, paralleled in part by the activities in the United States of the Industrial Workers of the World, is radical. It holds that the socialist's program is too mild, and that the political method of securing economic control will fail, because when socialists are elected to office they tend to become conservative. The syndicalist advocates "direct action," that is, striking directly at profits. A part of the method is represented by "sabotage," which originally referred to throwing a shoe into a machine so as to stop production and thus to bring the employer to terms. If you are working in a freight office and asked to ship oranges from Florida to Illinois, then change the shipping address to some town in New Mexico. In this way utter business confusion will result, profits will be cut off, the consumers will protest against capital-

ism and business under capitalistic control will be defeated; a new economic order can be set up. The general strike is also advocated. Let all employees cease to labor, and capitalistic business cannot go on—it will fail, leaving the way open for syndicalism.

Bolshevism, representing the radical wing of Marxian socialism, came into power in Russia in 1917. The World War had killed the Czarist army officers, and as the men in the ranks came into military leadership they finally swung the proletariat into power in a bloodless revolution. For the first time in the world, the propertyless classes overthrew the propertied classes and assumed political control in one of the largest countries of the earth. They established a "dictatorship of the proletariat," using the same autocratic methods that they had learned under the lash of the imperialistic forces of the czars. They represent class control in a new form. Their success or failure depends on the type of education which they develop, the degree of democracy which they put into practice, and the social attitudes which they achieve.

Syndicalism and bolshevism use revolutionary weapons which are out of place in a democracy. While their methods of control are ancient, they represent the increasing social unrest of the times. To denounce them feverishly and to jail their leaders will strengthen their cause. The chief thing

needed is that the causes of economic and social unrest be rooted out.

9. Social Insurance and Co-operative Movements.

Before proceeding to apply the principles of democracy to industry, it will be well to consider certain ameliorative movements. Social insurance refers to the insurance of the working classes through state action. The funds are furnished in part by the employer, in part sometimes by the employee, and in part sometimes by the state itself.

In the case of accident insurance or workmen's compensation, the employer usually pays all the costs of an accident. When a \$5,000 machine in a factory wears out, its loss is charged to the costs of production; when a \$5,000 employee suffers death as the result of an accident while at work, this loss is also being charged to the cost of production, and the sum of \$5,000 is paid in installments to the widow or children, or both.

In addition to workmen's compensation for accidents, compulsory insurance against sickness and against old age have gained considerable momentum. Compulsory unemployment insurance which was introduced into England in 1912 in two leading trades, has gained noticeable headway, but is still in an experimental stage.

Social insurance has the merit of providing for the industrial workers and their families in the

pecuniary crises of life. This fact gives the workers a degree of freedom from anxiety in normal times, increasing their happiness and efficiency. Social insurance is sometimes considered an opening wedge for socialism, a point that is exaggerated in the mind of the fearful. A more serious objection is that social insurance may undermine a full sense of individual responsibility. In a way it would be better to provide higher wages and to promulgate habits of thrift, so that individual responsibility may flourish, always of course toward socialized ends.

Profit-sharing refers ordinarily to an agreement, freely accepted, by which "the employee receives a share, fixed in advance, of the profits." It is a plan of paying to employees a share of profits in addition to wages. It is assumed that the profits which are shared will be created by the increased diligence and care of the employees.

Another procedure for improving the conditions of men in industry is "co-operation," which refers to the efforts on the part of the working class to abolish profits by distributing them, or surplus funds, among those whose labor or trade has created the surplus. Consumers' co-operation consists generally in a union of many consumers for the purpose of obtaining commodities at wholesale rates, of selling them at the ordinary retail rates to their own members, and then of dividing the profits from

such sales among themselves upon some equitable basis.

Producers' co-operation is a different system. While the aim of consumers' co-operation is to give the purchaser the advantage of lower costs, the purpose of producers' co-operation is commonly given as that of raising prices for the benefit of laborers. Hence there exists an essential antagonism between consumers' and producers' co-operative activities. Associations of workmen, employing managers and acting as their own employers, have been successful, but not with uneducated and untrained people.

Some of the difficulties in connection with producers' co-operation are a lack of sufficient capital, endless trouble with incompetent and shiftless members, the problem of securing and keeping an efficient manager, the lack of grace with which losses are borne, and an insufficient degree of intelligent and socialized background on the part of the rank and file.

10. *Industrial Democracy.* The World War projected the concept of democracy into industrial relations with a vengeance. Democracy however is a general term under which people in Western civilization place their own social attitudes; industrial democracy has likewise proved an unstandardized concept.

For many years, employers were prone to confuse welfare work with industrial democracy. The introduction in a business establishment of clean towels, baths, restaurants, rest rooms, and free dental service illustrates welfare work. As a result the employer is usually repaid in the form of the increased efficiency of and improved personal relations with his employees.

The American workman however is peculiarly sensitive to anything that suggests charity. It has been pointed out that persons who understand workmen at all, realize that they do not want to be subjected to the receipt of gifts and charities which would place them under lasting servile obligation to the donors, the employers. Real welfare work, according to C. R. Henderson, is fair wages and shorter hours of labor. It is being urged that the benevolent works of employers in the form of welfare activities which at first seemed to be gracious and liberal gifts, should be required by law.

Genuine industrial democracy involves three main factors in the production of economic goods, namely, the public, labor, and capital. The needs and welfare of the public are primary; the interests of both labor and capital are secondary. Any economic system which gives the entire management of business to labor is unsound; likewise capitalism is in error when it claims that capital should dominate.

It is thought by many persons that the main solution of the economic problem is to give labor representation on boards of directors and in management of industry. Such a plan is being tried with varying degrees of success. Capital opposes it and labor is not trained for it and often does not wish to assume so much responsibility. Labor desires representation on shop committees which regulate the conditions of work, hours, and even wages, but it is not willing or able as a rule to assume financial risk.

The joint control of industry by capital and labor is no certain cure-all for industrial evils. Capital and labor have showed signs of combining against the public. Capital has profiteered and labor has demanded abnormally high wages. In a given corporation an increase in selling costs was proposed recently with the understanding that one-half of the profits that might accrue should be turned into dividends and one-half into wages. Capital and labor thus combined against the consumer. In the matter of wages, hours of labor, and dividends the third party to industrial enterprise needs to have a voice and representation. A tripartite organization of industry is essential if all interests vitally concerned are to have adequate representation.

As a reaction against profiteering on the part of capital, and labor also, a new economic phenome-

non occurred in the fall of 1919 in the United States; a new type of strike on a large scale took place. The buyers' strike continued for some time as a protest against high prices. For a time both capital and labor were so engrossed in their struggle against each other that they did not observe that the public was "striking" against them both. The buyers' strike demonstrates the necessity of including the public in the management of industry.

It is claimed that industrial democracy will shift the emphasis from rights to functions. Instead of capital employing labor, labor will employ capital; instead of goods being produced for profits, business must purge itself of profitism, as medicine, teaching, the ministry have purged themselves, and goods must be produced for use. According to these principles, capital will be entitled to standard rates of interest, dependent upon the amount of risk involved and determined by labor-capital-consumer agreements. Any returns above the standard rates will be illegal. The professions have been changing from a profit to functional and standard income bases. If business does not follow this law of socioeconomic evolution, it will probably force revolutions and labor class control by the uneducated masses upon nations.

Under industrial democracy it is claimed that instead of as high dividends as possible being paid and of workers being paid as low wages as they will

accept, the material component represented chiefly by capital will be secured at as low a rate as possible and the human element, the workers, will be paid as much as possible. Instead of a prospective investor in stocks and bonds asking first, what dividends are paid, his initial inquiry will be, what service does the corporation perform. Social welfare, after all, will be the standard by which all classes must measure their plans and activities. Good will and the spirit of "Come, let us reason together," are also basic to the operation of industrial democracy. Nearly all other methods produce revolution and retrogression.

In the three chapters ending with this one, the occupational group in many of its aspects, processes, products, and problems has been considered. We now pass to a discussion of the community group.

PROBLEMS

1. Can you name any employment in which capital produces without the aid of labor?
2. In which labor produces without the aid of capital?
3. In which both labor and capital produce, without the aid of the consumer?
4. Is either the average capitalist or the average socialist in a position to pass an unbiased judgment upon socialism?
5. Is socialism to be judged by its ideals or by the way it works?
6. Does it make any difference who owns the wealth, providing it is socially administered?
7. Under socialism, what is to take the place of the present rewards of industry as an incentive to the exertion of the individual's best interests?
8. Explain: "Luxury at present can be enjoyed only by the ignorant."
9. Can business enterprise survive if, as is the case in the teaching profession, the element of profits were eliminated?
10. What is the difference between an acquisitive society and a functional society?

CHAPTER XII

THE COMMUNITY GROUP

THE COMMUNITY GROUP is here used in the sense of a social control organization. In an elemental way it is represented by a neighborhood. In a more positive governmental sense, it is best illustrated by the nation; in its broadest meaning it refers to the world group.

1. *The Neighborhood Group.* The child's play group, which has already received consideration, generally overlaps with the neighborhood, that is, it contains neighborhood children. It is in this way that the neighborhood usually comes into the child's consciousness.

The neighborhood also contains members who are outside the play group or even the friendship group of the child or of the child's parents; it includes all persons living within a face-to-face communicative area. In large cities the neighborhood is likely to be a group of people characterized chiefly by the fact that they live within a certain geographic area. There are many types of neighborhoods, such as a rural neighborhood, a village neighborhood, or an

immigrant neighborhood in a large city.

The neighborhood is a combination of several family groups, and of the representatives of several play and occupational groups. Its appeal is primarily to the gregarious impulses; children and women feel its strength more than men. Its bonds are rarely strong, except as it supports a neighborhood enterprise, such as a system of material improvements, an athletic team, or a "drive." It has no specific form of group control, which is due to lack of group aims and which explains its weaknesses as a group phenomenon.

Since the neighborhood is comprised of family groups whose chief tie is geographic proximity, conflict and co-operation alike flourish. The neighborhood feud is common, spectacular, and lasting. It usually begins with a disagreement between two families over a boundary line between property, over live stock, children, or over something that a member of one family says about a member of another family. The imagination works feverishly and imagined wrongs multiply. Gossip does its deadly work until a whole neighborhood of families is divided into two opposing camps.

The feud illustrates the neighborhood quarrel at its worst; it may run for years and generations. In the mountain districts it may lead to murder, and last until all the thirty-two MacGregors have been killed and all but one of the thirty-three McIntosh's,

leaving only one McIntosh alive and thus demonstrating to a disinterested world that the McIntosh's have won.

The neighborhood is rarely appreciated as a democratising agency. It is a nation in miniature; it may create a group-consciousness which is generic to national patriotism. It affords an opportunity, like the public school group, for individuals of many types of thought, cultural backgrounds, and racial traditions to learn to co-operate and develop common viewpoints, to participate in common neighborhood enterprises, and thus to develop a group consciousness which is the essence of democracy.

A recent movement is community recreation. According to this procedure the people of given neighborhoods organize on the basis of a common need, that of recreation. Then, through the activities of skilled recreation leaders and through common participation, the people give an historical pageant, establish a community theater, or unite in support of a recreation center with the schoolhouse as the common meeting place. It is possible for a neighborhood even of size to furnish itself with nearly all the recreation it needs, at a minimum of cost, and what is far more important, to develop withal a group consciousness.

A neighborhood consciousness may be created not only through community recreation but also through other forms of common activity, for ex-

ample, a community church. Again, it is possible to organize a neighborhood on a general welfare basis. Such a community organization may send its representatives to the city council in support of needed neighborhood measures; it may work for a lower water rate or lower prices on milk; it may establish its own poor relief; it may achieve a remarkable degree of unselfish group service.

The village as a neighborhood center has not succeeded as well in the United States as in other countries. It has become often a dead center. People move away from their isolated dwellings, pass by the village, and locate in the large city. The village is however a socially strategic unit, especially so in this country where the isolated farm dwelling is so common. The village possesses all the potential advantages of urban neighborhoods and affords expression for the gregarious impulses of rural people living a half mile or more from neighbors. It is or may be large enough to maintain nearly all the advantages of the city. It can still keep clear from the hustle, the superficiality, the soot, the squalor, and the homelessness of the large city.

In the United States, however, the rural people are characterized by an unusual degree of provincial independence and a lack of travel experiences which prevents the villagers from developing into a thriving neighborhood community. Villagers do

not have the social contacts necessary for the development of energetic personalities; they are subjected to a degree of genuine social isolation.

In the city the neighborhood is also handicapped. The variety in the racial composition or in occupational composition is often so great as to prevent neighborization. Occupational interests act as centrifugal forces, sending the neighborhood citizens into diverging paths with diverse aims. The automobile acts as another type of centrifugal force that dissipates neighborhood unity.

Thus, the neighborhood fails to measure up to its possibilities as a group organization. It lacks the coherency of the family, play, and occupational groups; and as a rule shows signs of group life only in times of crises or under compulsion.

The neighborhood is often charged with directly fostering homelessness. Many neighborhood dwellers do not know their "neighbors" at all, or only from seeing them upon the street. The neighborhood unfortunately melts away into the larger communality, the district, township, city, or county, instead of contributing an effective group consciousness to the larger community life.

2. *The Nation Group.* The neighborhood group was once the governmental or social control group. It gradually gave way before one larger organization after another until today the sovereign govern-

mental group is the nation.

Government originated in the need of protection of individuals from their fellows. Those forms of life which live in groups and subject to group organization have an advantage over other forms. Wild horses that have developed a group organization are able to withstand the attacks of ferocious animals, such as the lion or tiger. Individuals who live under a group organization survive, while others perish. Group organization is not only the basis of individual development, but also of protection after individuals have reached maturity.

Primitive people lived in groups, submitting themselves to the rules and regulations of a crude government, especially in times of crises and danger. In the presence of a common enemy, primitive peoples developed a keen sense of the need of protection and responded eagerly to leadership. The rise of fear is always a potent force in creating group or governmental bonds. The need of defensive strength leads to the recognition of the importance of group union, to the giving up of individual privileges, to the acceptance of group rules, and to a new common life under group or political organization.

Under the protection of group organization, primitive people established the beginnings of occupational stability and social advance. Here also is found the origin of private property. As a result

of group organization, early man possessed a measure of protection from the "outside," and had a little world where ordinarily he could live at peace, a peace which is one of the first conditions of progress. He also had a measure of protection from enemies within the group, which led to an increased unity and strength of the whole group.

The "horde" was the group organization in which the modern state had its origin. It was a sort of temporary oligarchy, based to an extent on respect for those whose personal prowess enabled the group to meet attack successfully. The horde is to be distinguished from the clan or organization of families, from the "household" or group organization for economic purposes; and from the phratry, or group organization for social, recreation, and religious ends.

The horde possessed three of the fundamental elements of the modern nation state. It had (1) the idea of the authority of the leader; (2) a notion of law—in the obedience given to the commands of the chief, and in the customs governing the group while fighting and hunting; and (3) a common unity, since all members were combined for a general purpose.

In the tribal group, which was an advance over the horde, the need for protection was again the leading factor. The ties of blood relationship, as was the case in the horde, functioned as a bond of

union. The common descent of members from a fictitious ancestor was postulated; the ruler, or king, was invested with the absolute authority of a father. Religion, also, especially in the form of ancestor worship, rendered important service in developing the habit of obedience. It enforced with supernatural sanctions the customs including the political ideas of the past. The tribal group, then, was based on the need for protection, on ties of blood relationships, and on the strength of a common religion.

The city-state of the Greeks and the Romans, for example, was an outgrowth of tribal group life. The need for protection was greater than ever; the ties of blood relationship were still strong. Religion was still an affair of the state and a bond of political strength. The authority of the city-state was greater, more regular in its exercise, and more permanent in its nature than that of the tribal group. The city-state developed an elaborate machinery for administrative purposes and created organized protection of the weaker members.

The feudal state was no longer an enlarged family, as was the tribal group; it was more like an army. The government of the feudal state was a type of a definite military institution. In theory the king owned the whole feudal group. He parcelled out the land to his nobles, who in turn distributed it among their subordinates. The state

was concentrated in the monarchy. The members did not live so much for the state as for the ruler; personal allegiance to the king seemed to take precedence over the other factors which kept the state together.

The absolute monarchy was in reality an overgrown feudal state. For many centuries the monarchs treated their respective states as their private property; concessions from them were always secured with difficulty. Any limitation of the authority of the monarch was rarely secured except at the cost of bloodshed. Political parties began to develop, but of course as secret group organizations. In Russia, for example, political parties existed largely as secret organizations until 1917.

The next transition was to the constitutional monarchy. The people slowly but surely obtained certain rights from the ruler. A parliament was created to register the will of the people. The monarch lost his status of a superior being with divine rights; he became a minister to the people. Political parties became stronger; they developed into open organizations, representing conservative and radical attitudes on the various questions of interest to the state. The sovereignty of the people as the real governing power became recognized.

In a democracy, the latest experiment in group control, politically speaking, the office of king has been abolished, and the sovereignty of the people

established. By means of representatives the people and the government are welded into a close relationship. Gigantic political parties develop; there are generally no more than two leading political parties in the state at a given time, one representing the conservative and the other the radical phase of specific issues.

Political parties perform a definite social function. In democratic countries, the party in power rarely initiates new programs. It generally has more than it can do in fulfilling pre-election promises. The party not in control renders a definite service in prodding up the party in power, and in insisting that the latter live up to its promises. The party out of power, as a rule, stands for progressive measures and for new ideas and methods in order to bid successfully for the suffrage of the people.

The nation state is a group of people exercising organized control over its members and over a specific territory. Its general forms of activity are three-fold: (1) activity with reference to other states, guaranteeing protection from external attack or undue interference; (2) activity with reference to its citizens, guaranteeing them liberty and security; and (3) activity in promoting constructive measures for group advance.

In regard to the first function, the state carries on an elaborate set of diplomatic and military activities, helping thus to develop a distinct national life.

The citizen expresses his indebtedness to the state in its diplomatic and military endeavors in the form of the sentiment of patriotism. The strength of this sentiment becomes apparent only when some other state assumes an aggressive or pugnacious attitude.

In the second place, the state defends the law-abiding citizen, and punishes the anti-social member. It enforces contracts between individuals, when properly drawn; it affords damages for accidents; it gives protection to groups of individuals when organized in corporate bodies for business purposes; and it aims to protect individuals against fraud.

The punishment of individuals who commit offences against other individuals or against the state itself is a function needed for the protection of the law-abiding citizen; it is a function which clearly belongs to the state, because the infliction of such punishment requires the use of an authority which extends to all parts of the state. Hence the state establishes an elaborate police system to catch guilty persons, and in the person of its own attorneys conducts the case against them. It provides machinery for determining justice and for punishing the convicted.

In the third place, the state promotes social and economic measures. It has taken up the coinage of money and assumed charge of banking systems;

it has become an extensive employer of labor; it carries the mails; it builds and maintains highways. The question may be raised: How far should the state go in the economic sphere? The answer may be given: To the point where the socialized expression of individual initiative and creative impulses is hindered.

The state is a group which needs citizens of strong moral character, but moral character usually cannot be created by force. The state, however, does something in this connection, such as preventing the circulation of impure literature, and limiting the sale of intoxicants.

The state and church are no longer one in all countries. The combination creates undue concentration of power, and sometimes tends to make religion perfunctory. If religious needs, however, are vital to the development of the best type of persons and citizens, then the religious phases of life cannot be entirely neglected by the state.

3. *The World Group.* The succession of horde, tribe, tribal confederacy, city-state, feudal state, monarchical state, and democratic state has but one "next stage," and that is world community. Christianity's fundamental propositions of "brotherhood of man" and "Fatherhood of God" are noteworthy beginnings. These sentiments are being slowly rationalized and put into effect.

Hundreds of international organizations have been formed in the last fifty years; these connote progress in world community thinking. Although these international bodies are loosely organized, although they have voluntary members, and although they have no power of enforcement of rules, they have created world opinion and afforded some opportunity for co-operative international activities.

The Hague Tribunal, while helpless in a real world crisis, served to attract the attention of the nations for the settlement of minor disputes. It has played the part of a meritorious world toy; it has demonstrated the need for a more effective world instrument of adjudication. The League to Enforce Peace set a new world ideal clearly before public opinion, and led by degrees to a League of Nations, the formation of which constituted another step in the direction of world community. President Woodrow Wilson's statement before the Chamber of Deputies in Italy on January 3, 1919, that the need of the hour is to organize the friendship of the world is still fundamentally true.

Before any League of Nations or Association of Nations can succeed, the majority of the people in the leading nations must learn to think in world terms. They must establish habits of world thinking; they will need to think in world terms for a period of time before world community can be established. They will need to learn to judge the

acts of their own respective nations and of other nations from the standpoint of world welfare. Unto local, provincial, and national thinking there must be added world thinking. There is an abundance of local minds, but only a few world minds capable of grasping the details of world problems in their full significance. World minds can be created by developing habits of thinking about world problems.

International law is an evidence of world community thinking, at least in an incipient form. International law is a body of rules, generally recognized by civilized states, which determine to a degree the conduct of modern states in their mutual dealings. The co-existence of large and powerful states has made it necessary that they develop standard rules of action in their conduct with each other.

In war times and similar crises the principles of international conduct are likely to be violated. Owing to the absence of an adequate coercive force to compel a nation to obey, international law may break down. The function of international law, however, is to regulate the conduct of national groups in all their dealings, hostile as well as pacific. Modern international law is based on the ruling principle that nations are units in a larger society, and possess mutual obligations and rights. Grotius was the leader in bringing about a recognition of the world societary concept. The Hague Tribunal and

similar attempts at establishing an international court have broken down because the spirit of nationalism has been stronger than the spirit of world community. When it came to the test, public opinion has not been strong enough to support the machinery for solving world problems.

The League of Nations was seriously handicapped at the very beginning of its career, because it was built upon so many nationally selfish concepts. Some feared it as an organization of nations for the promotion of an autocratic type of capitalism. Others suspicioned it as a post-war weapon for deliberately furthering the welfare of certain strong nations at the expense of weak ones. Still others presaged that it would become a League of Western Civilization. Even its limited power to deprive nations of a part of their sovereignty was deplored by nationalists everywhere.

The Washington Conference on Limitation of Armaments was based on the principle that independent nations should come to agreements on world matters without giving up even a slight degree of sovereignty to a world organization. The Conference may be viewed however as a step toward the development of a world public opinion and a world conscience, which in turn will lead to a world organization superior in function to nationality.

Despite the progress that is being made, the people of the world have not yet sensed the meaning

of world community. The world has reached the points where public opinion speaks of Western civilization or Eastern civilization, and where the differences between the two, not the likenesses, are receiving the attention of hectic and spectacular persons on both sides of the Pacific. The average members of the Western social order are widely proclaiming the superiority of Western civilization. They fail to study, either at all, or with unprejudiced minds the worthy points of Eastern development; they see chiefly its defects. They even fail to feel humble because of the defects of their own societary organization. Likewise, many of the adherents of Eastern civilization are silently and politely feeling a sense of pity for Western chauvinists. Now and then some one such as Rabindranath Tagore, rises up and openly expresses himself, calling Western society black, and dwelling upon the superiorities of Orientalism.

From the constructive side, an excellent analysis of Western civilization has been made by Charles A. Ellwood, who has outlined the following attributes. (1) A set of ethical and religious values was derived from the Hebrews and early Christians. In the former the major concept is justice; and in the latter, love. (2) A number of philosophical and esthetic values was contributed by the Greeks. (3) A set of administrative and legal values, stressing the rights of property, originated with the Romans.

(4) A set of personal liberty values was developed by the early Teutons and given concrete modern expression under the *laissez faire* doctrine of the nineteenth century in Western Europe and the United States. Within recent decades, additional values have been produced by Occidentalism, namely, (5) scientific methods, (6) business and industrial techniques, and (7) as an antidote to economic extremes, humanitarian values.

Eastern civilization is known for (1) its self-sacrifice values, which to the Oriental makes Occidentalism seem synonymous with organized selfishness. (2) There is a set of contemplative values in Orientalism, culminating in mysticism. (3) In the East, there is custom veneration, for parents, for established ways, for the naturally and socially stable phases of life, and for law and order. (4) There is also a set of important conventional standards which express themselves in human courtesy and appreciation of the finer things of life. (5) Orientalism is esthetic, and mystically, not rationally philosophic. (6) Orientalism is noted for its sense of social solidarity, which produces a strong sentiment of patriotism and social obligation. The social group and its standards are the major concepts and the individual, the minor. In the East the family group is the unit, as compared with the individual in the West. (7) The Oriental lives in generalizations rather than in particularizations—a prin-

ciple which is fundamental to the Oriental's other traits.

When the positive elements in Western and Eastern civilizations are brought together, their real antagonisms are evident. We perceive the rational versus the mystically philosophic, particularization versus generalization, the individual over against the family unit, facts versus concepts, individualism versus solidarity, utility versus estheticism, action versus contemplation, the physical versus the psychical, anxiety as opposed to tranquility, and the means of life versus the sake of living. These contrasts, vividly stated by Inazo Nitobe, upon reflection, provide nothing less than adequate bases for building a world community that will be superior to either Western or Eastern civilization.

World community is so much a matter of the future that only a few tendencies can be noted. Apparently (1) world community will be psychically one but racially several. Mankind had a common origin, but dispersed in various directions over the earth. In migrating, man encountered various physical and climatic environments, and became differentiated into races and cultures. The cultures are now being reunited. The process of social evolution will probably produce one world civilization. The common culture will always show marked variations, but its unity will stand. It will also achieve a considerable amount of racial admixture,

intermarriage, and amalgamation, but distinct races biologically will undoubtedly remain. The different climatic regions of the earth will continue to function in producing dark and light skinned races, and sunny and serious peoples.

(2) World civilization will apparently produce a world political structure superior in strength to the most powerful nations today, and yet jealously guarding the needs of individual nations, both large and small. It will be built out of the virtues of present-day nations. It will not abolish nations, but foster them as long as they work for the planetary good. It will do away with hyper-nationalism, provincialism, and chauvinism. It will eliminate the balance of power theory, the secret treaty practice, and territorial aggrandizement schemes.

(3) World community will be democratic. No permanent world structure can be built out of autocratic principles or governments. Rulership from the top down exclusively, bears its own seeds of destruction in the power which it gives the few over the many. Through autocracy, even the education of the masses can be subverted.

Not autocracy, but aristocracy will exist with democracy in world community. It will be, however, a democratic aristocracy, an aristocracy that will be guided by the needs of the many, that will not waste itself in extravagant living, that will continually endeavor to raise all individuals to its own

levels and thus create a democracy of social aristocrats, of superior men and women with unselfish super-social aims.

World community will be industrially democratic. Neither labor nor capital will control. One has as its goal, wages; the other, profits. Both ends are materialistic and low grade. Service values will rule both capital and labor. Individuals will strive with one another in rendering service; service will supplant profitism and speculation. The service standard already rules in the ministry, in the teaching profession, among social workers, with judges, and almost all physicians.

Some force, such as Christianity's dynamic of love, is needed to put into effect the three foregoing principles of world community. Humanitarianism, having no goal outside itself is apt to become self-centered, concentrated, and professional. The Christian principle of love is humanitarian, and more; its ultimate goal is located outside and beyond humanity. Thus it produces the best available ideal and the most dynamic guiding force for world community.

4. *The Citizenship Process.* The process of developing socialized citizens includes measures of creating a social consciousness in and through community participation by individuals. The problem of creating a worthy citizenry is of foremost im-

portance in a democracy.

A sinister phase of the problem is revealed by the general indifference of individuals in the matter of voting and in the work of their elected representatives. The multiplication of private interests invites neglect of the more fundamental affairs of government. The complexity of modern city life is so great that the ordinary person has difficulty in determining the truth about candidates for office. Elihu Root has said that the people of the United States should change their attitude toward their government. "Too many of us have been trying to get something out of the country and too few of us have been trying to serve it. Offices, appropriations, personal or class benefits, have been too generally the motive power that has kept the wheels of government moving. Too many of us have forgotten that a government which is to preserve liberty and do justice must have the heart and soul of the people behind it—not mere indifference."

Government even in most countries is still viewed as an external "ruler" operating from above. It is not yet considered a tool of the people by which the people associated in pursuit of common ends can effectively co-operate for realization of their own aims. The problem is that of making governmental machinery such a prompt and flexible instrument that it will drive away all distrust.

Since individuals give their attention so largely

to their private affairs and neglect political matters so generally, "politics" has tended to become a trade of a class of experts in the manipulation of their fellows. Thus "politics" is smirched and results in further aloofness from public matters by those persons who are best fitted to participate.

The indifference of many leaves the direction of political affairs in the hands of the few, who can work in more or less irresponsible secrecy. That a public office is a public trust is a principle most difficult to realize.

The taxation problem creates troublesome questions. Personal property, for example, is reported to assessors so inaccurately that the honest person who reports all his personal property, pays more than his share of taxes. He is confronted with the choice, as C. R. Henderson has said, of being robbed or of perjuring himself. The tax on personal property leads to deception and has gone far toward making perjury respectable among many people.

The income tax is a relatively simple method of bringing about a more just apportionment. The taxing of stocks and bonds at their sources instead of taxing persons who hold them is meeting with success. The graduated tax on land whereby the people through their governments receive the unearned increment promises well. The inheritance tax in graduated form is being extended rapidly.

Social legislation refers to legislation for the pro-

tection of men, women, and children in industry, to factory laws, and compensation acts. At nearly every turn these welfare measures are fought by large corporations.

The United States has been peculiarly unfortunate in failing to secure uniform laws on matters of social concern. The various states pass laws, such as child labor laws, pure food laws, and divorce laws, without reference to the need for uniformity. This emphasis on state's rights has prevented uniformity of legislation on questions of national interest.

If one state has a law prohibiting child labor under twelve years of age in factories and the people of an adjoining industrial state wish to pass a fourteen-year age limit, the manufacturers in the latter case are handicapped in the competitive market; thus the fourteen-year age limit suffers defeat. The lack of uniformity with reference to divorce laws has been notorious. The need for Federal uniformity is self-evident.

National egotism is perhaps the nation group's greatest enemy. It denies the full obligation of the nation to the world group; it creates chauvinism; it leads to wars. A world situation in which there are fifty-five nation groups, each setting up its own standards of right and wrong conduct, and each passing judgment on all the other fifty-four, makes necessary a new world order, socialized citizenry,

and a widespread community consciousness. The accomplishment of these ends is the task of the citizenship process, but the full technique of this process remains yet to be created.

PROBLEMS

1. What is community spirit?
2. Define neighbor.
3. In what way may neighborhood consciousness be developed?
4. What is a nation?
5. Define: a good citizen.
6. What is a democratic group?
7. "Are laws that are framed in the interest of certain classes of individuals of permanent advantage to the nation as a whole?"
8. What is patriotism?
9. What is hyper-nationalism?
10. What is world community?
11. In what ways may world friendship be developed?
12. Is world organization a next logical step in social evolution?

CHAPTER XIII

THE EDUCATIONAL GROUP

THE FAMILY, play, occupational, and community types of groups which have been considered in the preceding chapters are all highly educational. In addition there are other groups, particularly school groups, which give specific and technical attention to the educational process.

1. *The School Group.* The school group usually begins with the kindergarten and ends with the university and professional colleges. The kindergarten is "more wholly social than any other grade or year" of school life; and hence possesses a greater appeal to pupils than any other stage of school life. The child's work is organized on a group basis; the group stimulation co-ordinates so well with the play attitude of the child that work becomes play. Activity predominates; the child learns almost entirely through doing, and reacts enthusiastically to the process.

Then, the school group becomes organized on a routine basis, symbolized by the checkerboard seating arrangement in the schoolroom. The learn-

ing processes become more difficult and intellectual factors become segregated from the affective and volitional elements. The children organize school "activities" which are conducted outside school hours, thus supplanting the "passivities" of the regular routine, while the affective elements in the child's nature are often expressed secretly and in unorganized ways.

In college and university life the situation that first finds expression in the grades and the high school becomes crystallized, and college life becomes remote from real life. In the professional schools, specialization begins. The young man wishes to become a specialist as soon as possible, and get "out into the world" where he can "make money." Consequently, he shuns the cultural courses, demands the practical, and his faculty supervisors reluctantly submit to his desires. The practical courses are those which train for individual pecuniary efficiency. Public welfare efficiency is slighted, and education becomes partly unpatriotic, and destructive of the best types of human welfare. Moreover, the young man in insisting upon avoiding the cultural is building the foundations of life upon narrow bases; his own possibilities of personality development are cramped if not cut short.

School groups have originated in private initiative. Strong and effective institutions of higher learning have been established as a result of the

enterprise, particularly, of religious leaders ; in fact, nearly all the privately endowed universities and colleges in the United States were so created.

Moreover, society has recognized the social values in education by establishing vast public school systems, crowned by state universities, on compulsory bases. Even democracies so thrive. In the United States the annual cost of maintaining the public school system has long since passed the billion dollar figure.

The development of colleges, universities, professional schools, and special foundations gives opportunities for advanced education and research work, and increases the number of inventions. It is in these highest phases of research that one of the main driving forces in education becomes evident, namely, the inquisitive tendencies. All normal human beings desire to know the answers to problems. Curiosity can easily be aroused. In research work the curiosity impulses express themselves unremittingly in the attempts which individuals make in searching for solutions to intricate problems, chemical, mechanical, philosophical, sociological, and the like. The child is no less inquisitive but his curiosity expresses itself in more personal and on the whole superficial ways.

While education may take cognizance of the play, curiosity, and similar attitudes, in fact, may be built upon them, it is incomplete unless it trains pupils

to do some things which are uninteresting and even unpleasant. Education based only on desires and favorable attitudes is inadequate. Daily life contains unpleasant tasks; and hence, the child may advantageously learn to face some disagreeable tasks with a degree of stoicism.

The most difficult problem confronting the school is that of teaching group and social responsibility. For the child to learn verbatim the Constitution of the nation does not in itself go far in the making of good citizens. The children need to be taught the significance of becoming good neighbors, good fathers and mothers, and good citizens—by doing neighborly, fatherly or motherly, and citizenship acts regularly. The teaching of this social responsibility is as important as, if not more important than, the teaching of the trades and of methods of making a livelihood. The schools need to overcome the failure of parents to perform intelligently their parental duties and to create an intelligent appreciation of group responsibility. The schools should concern themselves first of all with training a new race of parents.

Another socially important problem is that of sex education. The ignorant and vicious perversion of the sex impulses as manifested in illegal sex relations, false marriages, and the divorce evil constitute a set of precarious conditions for human society. Segregated talks on sex hygiene are inade-

quate. The best solution for the problem has been found in treating sex matters naturally as phases of the regular discussions in courses in botany and zoology.

Industrial education and vocational guidance are enabling children to find themselves vocationally. There is danger, however, of forgetting that the chief value in learning a trade is that the child may discover himself. He should have an occupation, not primarily for the purpose of earning a living, essential as that is, but in order that he may through his occupation develop himself to the fullest possible personal extent and usefulness. To teach a trade for the primary purpose of developing individual success may prove to be anti-social. A person who has attained high individual efficiency but who has not learned to work well, that is, unselfishly, in society is dangerous.

The continuation school is performing a worthy social function. If all boys and girls would attend school a few hours each day throughout their adolescent years, until eighteen years of age, the increased capacities would more than counterbalance the cost. Besides, society could thus exercise a wholesome influence and guidance over thousands of adolescents who now are thrown into an adult environment and surrounded by full-fledged and vicious temptations while yet immature and with only partial control over turbulent passions.

The visiting teacher is a relatively new term but one that possesses social significance of wide import. To the multitude of homes of the poorer classes, the visiting teacher can carry scientific knowledge concerning the proper care of children during their first six years of life, before the children come under public supervision. Countless children are so handicapped by lack of adequate care in their homes that when they reach the public schools at the age of six, "they are not in a fit condition to have public money spent upon them." Countless others die needlessly during the first years of life.

The visiting teacher can carry to the homes of the less fortunate in the community a knowledge of sanitary living conditions, of the best purchasing methods, and of home making. Large numbers of people are still living in darkness as far as their knowledge of sanitation, bacteriology, and sound health is concerned.

The visiting teacher is a boon in immigrant neighborhoods. She can carry not only knowledge but the American spirit into the homes of immigrants whose wholesome contacts with Americanism are few. To the immigrant mother with her slight opportunities to know American life and institutions, the visiting teacher is an angel of mercy, inspiration, and knowledge. As an Americanization teacher she is unsurpassed.

Another social conception in education is that

"the whole child" goes to school, and hence every phase of the child's welfare needs to be cared for somehow. The school is not to be considered as interested simply in the expansion of the child's intellect. Intellectual development, in other words, cannot be considered as something wholly apart from physical, moral, and even spiritual development.

At the vital point of spiritual development, the average public school representative is nonplussed. The whole child is not really being schooled, for the training of the highest spiritual nature of the child, his religious nature, is being shunned.

The public school curriculum may well be reconstructed. It emphasizes certain self-culture studies, splendid as far as they go, and certain of the sciences. The literatures and languages, in the main, represent self-culture; the sciences help the individual to develop control over natural resources and stand for the development of individual success and power. The importance of social studies and of the social emphasis is only slightly appreciated by many school leaders and still less by boards of education.

Any serious attempt, however, to use the public school system as a vehicle for socialized education must be started in the grades, because nearly four-fifths of the children who enter the public schools of this country do not go beyond the elementary

grades. Moreover social studies need to be given a primary place in high schools and normal schools. The training for unselfish public service is more important than any other phase of public school work,—if the nation is to consist of public servants rather than harbor, as now, numerous individual exploiters.

This need may be met in part in changing the school phases of education from an acquisitive to a functional basis. Instead of emphasizing the acquiring of knowledge as the alpha and omega of education, the new tendency is to view education as a “learning by doing” process. He who would learn the best things, must do the best, that is, render unselfish service.

2. *The Newspaper and the Cinema.* Through the medium of the public school, the possibility of developing social ideals in the general population is far greater than by means of newspapers and magazines. This statement is based on the fact that the public school reaches practically all the people while they are young and in the formative periods of life. In recent years, however, the cinema by its type of appeal has been invading the adolescent and childhood years. Its influence in character formation for good or ill is beginning to rival that of the school. Newspapers and magazines will first be considered and then the cinema as educational

agents.

While the rise of the newspaper in recent decades has been meteoric and marvelous in many ways, the press has not become as dignified and constructive a social agency as it might have become. In catering to the masses, crowd emotion, and the economic attitudes of advertisers, it has felt obliged to belittle its high calling.

The newspaper, together with the telegraph, and telephone, and other rapid means of communication, has created a wonderful degree of mass consciousness. It has made a world consciousness possible; it has made Paris, London, New York, and Peking neighbors of each other. It is a marvelous spectacle to contemplate, namely, a hundred million and more people, leaders in all parts of the world, reading simultaneously about one national and world happening after another, in each case only a few hours after the happening took place. Moreover, each of these readers knows that all the others are reading about the same phenomenon at the same time; he also knows in a general way how each is responding to the message or description that he is reading. The newspaper, therefore, constitutes a powerful instrument of creating public opinion, mass consciousness, and good will or ill will.

Today a million dollars is hardly sufficient for establishing a metropolitan newspaper of size. The

capitalist-owner has supplanted the editor-owner. As a rule, the editor is no longer the owner, unless he is a millionaire. The editor of the type of Horace Greeley or Charles A. Dana who owns his paper and makes it the projection of his character and personal ideals is rare. Many editors now are hired. They are not expected by their owners to put their own consciences and ideals into the paper.

The highest social usefulness of the newspaper has been compromised by commercialization. The securing of large financial returns has become a dominant factor in the publishing of newspapers today. Therefore, the profit standard too often overrules the human welfare standard.

A part of this untoward situation is the fact that a very large proportion of the total receipts in the newspaper business are derived from the sale of advertisements. The subscriptions represent a decreasing percentage. Advertising yields as high as two-thirds of the earnings of the daily newspaper; it may yield up to ninety per cent. The advertiser rather than the subscriber supports the newspaper.

When news columns and editorials become of less importance than the sale of advertisements, it becomes true that the advertisers are the censors of the news and the editorials. Corporations which are extensive advertisers are often referred to in newspaper offices as "sacred cows"; nothing

in the news or editorial columns is printed that would in any way offend the "sacred cows," no matter if they be the community's leading profiteers and exploiters. The difficulty lies in the fact that the selling of advertising is purely commercial, while the printing of news and of editorials is a matter of democracy and education. Edward A. Ross has declared that the modern metropolitan newspaper is in danger of becoming a factor where ink and brains are so applied to white paper as to turn out the largest possible marketable product.

It is clear that more private newspapers are needed which ignore the dubious influence of heavy advertisers, and which will give the truth about police protection to vice, corporate tax-dodging, and the non-enforcement of laws. The need for a nationally endowed press has been strongly advocated by writers such as V. S. Yarros. The need for socialized newspapers whether privately or publicly owned is clear. The public however is not aware of the true situation and does not realize the degree to which it gets the news on many questions in a purely biased form. The newspaper owners and the public together can bring about a new day when public welfare will be the test of newspaper efficiency.

The magazine and journal have emphasized facts and thoughtful attitudes. In indulging in muck-raking, certain magazines have overstepped rational

boundaries. Magazines, like newspapers but in a less degree, are subject to the influence of advertisers, while journals of scientific character on the other hand have rendered a larger measure of undiluted social service.

Another educational agency of tremendous force is the cinema. Its rise to power has come since 1905. Its significance from the standpoint of amusement and recreation has been considered in the chapter on the play group. As an educational force the cinema utilizes indirect suggestion to its fullest extreme. The direct suggestion is indescribably great, but cannot be compared with the indirect suggestion, which by the use of many characters moving rapidly and dramatically before the eyes of the spectators in a thousand rôles, stimulates the spectators in countless unsuspected ways to all types of activities. If the spectators are youthful, they are thereby unduly subject to the indirect suggestion of the film.

The use of films in schools and churches is increasing. They can bring the farthest reaches of the earth into the schoolroom with accurate vividness. They can visualize ancient history and enable school pupils to live over again events of historic significance which occurred thousands of years ago. They can personify the greatest religious ideals, giving the spectator immeasurable inspiration.

The educational group, whether informal as in

the case of the home or the playground, or whether standardized as instanced by the school, is society at its best, that is, when it is developing. The educational group is society rising from level to level of intellectual power and vision. The educational group represents discovery and invention; it also stands for dissemination of ideas.

Education trains the whole person—his feelings, thoughts, and volitions. It gives power—for human welfare or against it. An educated man may become society's greatest enemy. Along with the education of the intellect therefore must go development of the social impulses and attitudes. The fang and claw spirit of the jungle still lives powerfully in human beings; it can be submerged by the training of the social tendencies of man. Only through the educational process can habits of social initiative and social dependability be built up in human lives. The educational group therefore becomes the center of associative progress. In it is crystallized forces upon which all other human groups must depend if they would augment endlessly their usefulness.

3. *The Educational Process.* Civilization is a result of the educational process, which uses a vast variety of tools and a marvelous technique, including language, alphabets, systems of writing, varied literature, newspapers, social traditions, public opinions, and private and public systems of educa-

tion. The educational process in one sense begins with the thousands of years of experience into which the individual is born. Into these groups and personal experiences the child is born, and from them he receives his fundamental concepts of life. Education for the child consists in part in obtaining the meaning of these experiences. He receives the advantages and disadvantages of the social heritage. Education for the child consists in part in his getting the meaning of the social heritage.

The first three years, roughly speaking, of a child's life are spent in learning muscular co-ordinations and elementary meanings. The years from three to twenty-three, or more, are considered as the period in which the individual is to learn the meaning of the experiences of the past thousands of years of racial history. In this period he is to become somewhat adapted to his physical and group environments. On the basis of this educational training, the individual is expected to proceed by virtue of his initiative and make a contribution of some kind to the world's culture. At least, he should not be found among that "stupid procession that never had a thought of their own."

The curiosity impulses seem to be the leading sources of intellectual energy and effort. They produce man's speculative and scientific tendencies. The cognitive or thinking attitude is the main intellectual tool; reason represents the highest phase

of cognition. With it, man has been able to transcend physical limitations and comprehend factors that are present in neither time nor space.

The study of the inventions that the human mind has made is most fascinating. It is a story of the creative effort of quick witted or deep thinking persons, of sharp, vibrant minds. It is the story of the main lines of group and personal advancement. Through inventiveness, the human group has advanced from the dug-out to the palace, from the skin breeches to the elaborate costume, from the uncooked aboriginal meal to the seven-course dinner, from the digging-stick to the twenty-furrow steam plow, from the carrying-stick to overland trains, and from the gourd with a cord stretched across it, to the modern oratorios and symphonies.

To train all individuals to imitate well and to initiate, to follow and to lead, to obey and command, always in line with group advance, this is the educational process. It is contingent upon a communicating system, the nature and importance of which have been indicated in Chapter IV. On the basis of elemental pantomimic and facial gestures, and an elaborate vocal language together with the resultant literature, human groups have developed extensive cultural backgrounds which constitute the child's social heritage. Educationally, it is the child's problem to learn the meaning of this group heritage, to acquire methods of mental analysis, and to func-

tion as a critic, a molder, and a contributor to the social heritage.

The leading elements in social heritage are the experiences of the mind, produced through interstimulation, and preserved in prose or poetic literatures. Literature is the best expression of human thought reduced to writing. Its various forms may be considered as representative of group peculiarities or individual diversities.

In early human society the first formal educators were the priests. They compiled the tribal chronicles; they were the rhapsodists who celebrated the prowess of tribal chiefs in the presence of the worshipful tribal people. Since man feels before he reasons, and since poetry is the language of the feelings, poetry developed before prose. Hence sacred teachings and war songs became the first educational source materials. Then the epic records of the past developed and were supplemented by the lyrical records of contemporary events.

The development of reasoning tended to deprive poetry of its ornament and to provide man with a simpler and more accurate educational instrument. Prose of permanent value soon found expression in the form of oratory, which reached a stable level in Greece. Public speaking became a powerful educational force. During the early centuries of the Christian Era, including the Middle Ages, no new educational methods were produced. The invention

of the printing press in the fifteenth century made inexpensive books possible. Invention followed invention in the past two centuries until the printing press, the telegraph, the telephone, and similar means of communication of ideas have made education available to all. Educational systems have supplemented the instruments of communication so that today education is becoming democratized.

The elements of the spiritual environment which the child through educational processes is expected to comprehend, possesses emotional, intellectual, and conditional aspects. (1) Life is surrounded on every hand by mystery, miracle, and the unknown. That which is not known far exceeds that which is known and understood. Through the feeling-emotional phases of consciousness man interprets the mysteries of life, acquires faith in God, and stands up against the odds of life which at times are almost overwhelming. This feeling-emotional interpretation, when supported by reason becomes poetry, philosophy, religion, and art. These techniques are vehicles of those things which are felt to be true, but whose truth has not been proved or disproved. The child who early learns to perceive the work of God, to feel inspired in the presence of God's handiwork and to take a place as an active unit in God's world will learn to hate ugliness, imperfection, meanness, littleness, and selfishness.

(2) The intellectual method, using definite proof

and struggling for accuracy, has been called scientific. Science struggles to know the truth as exactly as possible concerning reality. Although the known is but a small part of the unknown, no student today can hope in his education to encompass all science. He must choose. He cannot familiarize himself with all the scientific knowledge that has been discovered. He can, however, learn enough truth to free himself from superstition, to be able to go through life with an open mind, and to get the message of courage and hope which comes from scientific inventions and the achievements of mankind.

The educational program broadly speaking, accentuates both the feeling side, or literatures; and the reasoning side, or science. The average student scorns one or the other, neglecting to see that a well educated person must be familiar with the fundamental advances that have been made by both sets of educational forces.

(3) The child must learn, not only to feel and to think, but also to do. Education has generally been weak in developing the doing process. Mankind, however, has been active, energetic, and even original; the list of his achievements is extensive and beyond ordinary comprehension. Therefore, the educational process, whether informal or formal, whether operating in the family group, the play group, the occupational group, the educational

group, or in the religious group that will be analyzed in the next chapter, must emphasize in a balanced way all three factors, the affective, cognitive, and volitional, or else it will be incomplete and produce incomplete personalities and a one-sided group life.

The educational process is an organization of the play, inquisitive, self-assertive, and similar tendencies of the individual whereby he may secure the meaning of the social heritage and also initiate new and socially useful ideas. It involves work as well as play, and requires energy, vision, and social purpose.

PROBLEMS

1. Explain: Better than time to read is time to think.
2. Why are relatively so few people engaged in doing original thinking?
3. Why do students "cram" for examinations?
4. What would be a better method than "cramming" for examinations?
5. Why is the better method not followed?
6. How many days should there be in the school year?
7. What is education?
8. Do you see any values in being stupid?
9. Explain: Every student should have a target.
10. Should society spend more money per capita upon wealthy or poor children?
11. What is educational sociology?
12. What are the arguments for and against a national university?
13. Explain: "The chances of attaining distinction are 190 times greater for the college man than for the non-college man."
14. Under what conditions is scientific research socially valuable?

CHAPTER XIV

THE RELIGIOUS GROUP

AT AN EARLY age the average child begins to feel the influence of the church group. Although its direct activities are confined largely to one day in seven, its processes are fundamental in their effects. The family, play, occupational, community, and school life of most individuals is supplemented by a religious group life.

1. *The Church Group and Religion.* Religious impulses have been and are universal. They were common among primitive tribes and are found today among civilized people everywhere. In many of their narrow and bigoted expressions they have been socially destructive, but in their finest and truest expressions they have been socially helpful. In recent centuries they have found expression in church groups with elaborate rituals, costly church buildings, and powerful social organizations.

To comprehend the significance of the church group it is necessary to analyze religious behavior, which springs from impulses native to the human mind. The universality of the religious attitude is

due to the universality of certain human needs. There come times in every person's life when he is confronted with the fact that he does not know very much after all. The most highly educated and cultured, the wealthiest, the politically most powerful, as well as the poor and ignorant, are all in the same category when it comes to placing themselves, their achievements, and their powers alongside the powers of the universe and the realms of the unknown. Miracles and marvels and the unexplained surround man at every turn. Death is the great conundrum, and life is filled with baffling problems.

At best, it appears that human beings are but little organisms moving hopefully for a short moment through a vast sweep of mystery, or as Charles H. Cooley has put it, human beings are like a party of men with lanterns trying to find their way through a dark, immeasurable forest. To all except the intellectually stolid or foolhardy, the perplexities of life sooner or later are recognized as being too great for man to meet out of his own resources. It is this fact which explains the permanency of the religious attitude.

Religion, and later the church groups, have developed therefore out of human needs. When the sense of need urged primitive man to attempt to communicate with a higher Power, there religion made its appearance. Religious attitudes have developed from both feelings and thought, leading

on one hand to faith, and on the other to intellectual attempts to explain life and the universe. In its essence religion is a conscious and co-operative relationship with the Creator and Director of the universe and human lives.

Religion at its best perceives human society, not as an end in itself but as an emergency of the super-human, Divine, and eternal. This consideration of human life as an emergency of an Eternal Personality lends greater value and an increased dignity to human society. Through religion man sees himself as a functioning unit of a social group far larger and more important than the living, visible human groups.

Primitive groups are essentially religious. Innumerable spirits are worshipped. Man early conceived the sun, the moon, the wind, the heavens as being like himself and as guided by feelings and motives similar to his own. Even the thunderstorm was worshipped as a mighty being which had power to end a drought. Some objects, called fetiches, were worshipped not because of their intrinsic value, charm, or power, but because a spirit or god was supposed to reside in them. Animals were worshipped; primitive man revered them for the quality in which they excelled. Ancestor worship was common.

The worship of innumerable spirits became burdensome; hence spirits were supplanted by relative-

ly few deities in religious beliefs. Polytheism in turn tended to become a source of conflicts; the deities constituted too large a group to be efficient. Then it seems that the deity of the leading tribe in a given region became supreme. Here is found the beginnings of monotheisms and of national religions.

In early times, man's religion consisted primarily in the religious acts which he performed rather than in the beliefs which he held. In modern days the emphasis is often reversed. Sacrifices were invaluable features of early religions. By this method the relationships with the gods were renewed and strengthened. Prayer was the ordinary concomitant of the sacrifice; it was the means by which the worshipper explained the reason of his gift, urged the deity to accept it, and asked for the help that he expected in return. Worship thus was a social act. It grew out of the idea of group relationships.

There were few temples, idols, and no churches in the early human world. The worship of nature and of natural objects did not suggest the enclosing of a space for religious purposes. Taboo developed; the earthly belongings of a deity could not be touched. Religion gave strong emphasis to the social concept of discipline.

The religion of the tribal group developed into the religion of the nation group. Instead of partisan tribal gods, a higher and impartial deity was conceived, who belonged to and watched over all the

tribal groups. New social bonds developed. There was no longer the tie of blood which bound the people to their gods; the tie became more spiritual and more social.

The Inca religion, Confucianism, and the Israelitish worship of Yahweh or Jehovah, are illustrations of national group religions. With the coming of the Hebrew prophets, religion assumed broader aspects and finally culminated in Christianity with its claim to be a religion fit for the world group. In the meantime, Buddhism; and later, Mohammedanism in Arabia developed: they also have essayed to meet the world's religious needs.

In its essence Mohammedanism holds to the doctrine of the unity and omnipotence of Allah, and of the responsibility of every human being to Allah. The submissive attitude, the implicit surrender, and entire obedience to Allah are emphasized. Allah, however, does not inspire the worshipper with ideals of goodness, although an influence against evil is exerted; he is abstract. He does not come in close contact with people; he seems to have no unselfish interest in human welfare. He does not inspire persons to strive after high individual or social ideals; he does not seem to be related to humanity and cannot figure extensively in social group advance.

In Buddhism the central movement of East Indian religious thought culminated. Guatama, the

founder, in his early manhood began to realize that suffering accompanies all existence, and scorned a life of rank and ease. In rising from a period of contemplation this remarkable leader proclaimed himself as Buddha, the Enlightened, the one who beheld the true nature of things. Sorrow and evil had lost all hold on him; he had reached emancipation by the destruction of desire. Moreover, if people are to be saved, they must do it by their own efforts; they cannot be relieved of any part of the burden.

Buddhism is based on the social concept of the equality of all individuals. All human beings are to be paid respect; hatred is to be supplanted by love; life is to be filled with kindness. On the whole however, Buddhism is not a positive social force. The believer does not trouble himself about the world but chiefly about his own salvation. Buddhism does not aim at an ideal society, such as a kingdom of God. It checks rather than fosters enterprise; it does not actively interest itself in the advancement of civilization. It favors a dull conformity to rule, rather than a free cultivation of various gifts. It does not train the affections and the desires to virtuous and harmonious individual and group action. It is socially depressing; it furthers isolation rather than co-operation.

It is in Christianity, which will be discussed in the remaining sections of this chapter, that religion

finds its most social expressions, and that church groups assume dynamic social obligations. The analysis in this section hence will be carried forward under the discussion of the social principles and problems of Christianity.

2. *The Social Principles of Christianity.* The social principles of Christianity originated in the teachings of the Hebrew prophets and the other founders of the Jewish religion; they received a dynamic expression in the teachings of Jesus; then they lay dormant for centuries; and finally about the year 1885 they began to be re-interpreted. For centuries therefore the individual and social implications of Christianity remained divorced. Theology and dogmatism built up the individual principles of religion at the expense of the social. Jesus apparently, on the other hand, made them inseparable; he insisted upon the test of loving one's neighbor as a test of loving one's God.

Within the decades since the social principles of Jesus' teachings have been discovered, they have been attacked by entrenched dogmatism and tabooed by fearful theologians. They are not to be considered Christianity in themselves but simply the "lost tribes" of Christian thought. When given their due emphasis they enable Christianity to take the lead in directing the solution of the world's problems, such as the labor and capital problem,

disarmament, unemployment, housing, divorce, and taxation. Christianity could not prevent the World War naturally enough; its social principles had been submerged for eighteen centuries.

Christianity which started as a movement within Judaism, proclaimed the doctrine of perfect relationships between God and man on terms of sympathetic and rational understanding. Jesus showed the way. He announced a new union of God with man, a union in which he was the first to rejoice, but which all persons may share with him. The group of disciples and adherents of Jesus afterwards came to be known as the Christian Church. It became the task of Saint Paul to work out the world wide implications of Christianity. In Christianity it was expected that all racial differences would disappear. "In Christ there is neither Jew nor Greek."

As Jesus made plain, God is the Father and human beings are his children in one large functioning world group. All that a person needs to do is to perceive the truth of this statement, to enter the circle, and begin to live socially with God and man. Religion thus becomes the active communion of children with their Father; the Father and children are to dwell together in loving behavior. Religion is not a matter of apparatus, but a process of love. Prayer is necessary, for the child must keep in touch with his Father. The process hence is simple, deep, broad, and holy.

Christianity in its essence inspires a person, not to any particular kind of acts, not to withdrawal from the world, but to realize his own great potentialities in and through group life. Its ideal of a Kingdom of God finds expression in elemental ways on earth. In fact the perfect society has begun in the personalities of those who live socialized lives. Partial socialization includes living according to the principles of the brotherhood of man doctrine. Complete socialization includes living according to the principles of the brotherhood of man and of the Fatherhood of God. Only in these two principles can one find complete living; nothing less is satisfactory to the whole person.

Not only is Christianity at its highest, individually satisfying, but it is socially powerful. Christianity identifies itself with the cause of human freedom, and tends to unite all persons in one vast group. It has taken the sentiments connected with the family, the ideas of brotherhood and Fatherhood, and given them the largest possible group application. It has the possibilities of becoming the super-socializing force of all times.

The kingdom of God is both a spiritual and a social ideal; the two elements are inseparable. Those persons are mistaken who say with a certain Scotch minister: We are not here to make the world any better; we have only to pass through it on the way to Glory. Equally mistaken are those who conceive

of the Kingdom of God as a social ideal only, who are simply humanitarian, who proclaim: Every man, a well fed, housed, and cared for human being. The Kingdom lays stress upon character, love, and social ideals. It implies "good conditions, a perfect environment, justice for all, wholesome dwellings, the fair reward of labor, opportunity for men to realize themselves."

As a social and spiritual dynamic Christianity has operated in three directions. It has furnished social ideals, it has formed character, and has evoked service. (1) It gives new ideals of life, of individual, family, and group life. It gives a new interpretation to marriage and has "founded the Christian home." It emphasizes the child as an object for which sacrifices are to be made. It sets up ideals that are to transform human hearts and the world. It would create high-minded, sympathetic, and progressive national groups.

(2) "Christianity has produced the highest type of character known to man," says David Watson. And without character in the world it may be added, all group life would become a farce, and the world be destroyed. Christianity lays fine emphasis on moral qualities. At its best it moves peoples from lives of selfishness, idleness, and vice, to lives of sacrifice, fidelity, purity, and strenuous service.

(3) The dynamic of Christian love has operated not only through high ideals and sturdy character,

but also through the social service which it engenders. It has stood for doing good, for philanthropic endeavors, and for self sacrificing behavior. It has stimulated endless numbers of men and women to accept positions of social reform and political leadership. Nearly every philanthropic movement in recent centuries had Christianity as its dynamic. Countless missionary activities, full of deeds of sacrifice, have been born of Christianity. Scientific training added to the spiritual dynamic of religion is an ideal equipment for social service.

But after social and economic programs have been fully carried out, the spiritual dynamic of religion will be as vitally useful as ever. No social or economic program suffices to abolish sorrow, or pain, or infirmity, or human regret, heartache, or death. The religious dynamic therefore remains the greatest social force of all time. It contains the largest group idea conceivable, for it dares to include living human beings, those who have lived well and died, those who are to live, and God—all in one almost inconceivably large group, living on and ever proving themselves more socially useful.

3. *Socializing Religion and the Church.* Religion and church life tend like all other forms of organized life to become professionalized, to become narrow, and to fail to adjust themselves to changing social needs. As a result problems arise.

(1) A difficult task is that of giving all people an appreciation of the highest attained religious concepts. Underlying this problem is that of discovering more religious truth, and of seeing more and more clearly the relation of finite life to the infinite. But if present religious truth and faith at their purest were known, accepted, and put into practice generally by mankind, the leading world and personal problems would be met. Economic interests, selfish habits, and even a blinded intellectualism keep many people in Christian lands from experiencing the real meaning of religion. Low cultural levels and narrow religious customs prevent vast multitudes from becoming aware of the highest religious values.

(2) The tendency of religion everywhere is conservative. When a given practice has once been sanctioned by religion, it has been often almost impossible to eliminate such practice until long after it has ceased to serve useful purposes. In the history of the world some of the most religious people have been the most narrow-minded and intolerant. The church has been one of the most conservative of group institutions. It has tended to identify itself with the conditions of a given age, and then to cling to old methods long after the situation has changed.

At best in their daily living people fall below the religious ideals which they profess. The lower impulses and instinctive tendencies are so persistent

and so subtle in finding expression at unexpected moments, that even the best representatives of religious beliefs fail frequently.

Then there are those who profess Christianity but who, for example, live as hypocrites. The hypocrisy may be either conscious, or more or less habitual and unconscious. It is this tendency which harms religion immeasurably. A man who supports the church but employs children, men, and women at less than living wages is a concrete example. Another illustration is that of the lawyer who conducted a Sunday school class but at the same time for a fee was helping a client to dodge the inheritance tax law.

"He is an angel at home," said the chauffeur for a business magnate, "but he is a devil in business." Then there is the churchman in good standing who boasted that he could always hire unskilled labor at considerably less than the market rate. The exploited group of laborers, however, cursed him, and also cursed the church. Men may be good husbands, fathers, and church members, and yet bad citizens, patriots, and employers, or employees.

Religious, church, and denominational rivalry creates harmful impressions. It is this continual friction, particularly among Christian religious groups that belies the Christian's profession of love and brotherhood. If Christians cannot make their brotherhood principle work among themselves,

how can they consciously ask unbelievers to accept their doctrines? This is a common question that is being raised. The present sectarian divisions are socially, economically, and ecclesiastically wasteful. Union and co-operation need to be substituted for sectarianism. The community church is developing to meet the emergency. It can serve not only the religious needs of the entire community, but can also take the leadership in re-organizing and building up the entire life of the community.

It has been one of the weaknesses of religion that it moves people as individuals, but does not affect them vitally in all their group relationships. The process of saving individual souls has often failed in saving men in all their group activities.

The social service movement in the churches, on the other hand, was never intended to substitute "a soup and soap salvation" for spiritual regeneration; neither was it meant to provide bait for enticing the unchurched laboring man into the house of God. Its chief concern is not with externalities, but with getting the dynamic of God's love into all human processes and groups. A religious community, according to Harry F. Ward, is not necessarily one that is full of churches, "each seeking its own sectarian development, each cultivating its own peculiar formulas and practices. It is rather a community which has become aware of its organic nature, which has found its soul, repented of its sins,

come to conscious realization of its powers and needs, and is co-ordinating its forces, including its churches, in harmony with a power greater than itself, for the working out of its salvation."

A church is purblind, if while it is satisfied with saving a few hundred souls, there are causes at work crushing out the lives of thousands. While the church is engaged in individual soul saving, "evil gathers its corporate power, puts its hand upon the forces of social control," and nullifies the gains that come from evangelizing individuals. Preach the Gospel and the rest will take care of itself, is a narrow creed. Any church which keeps itself apart from other constructive human activities "is setting itself off from God, now and forever."

It has been pointed out that the custom of appealing to individuals to seek personal salvation first of all is to arouse their selfish interests. A personal religion that leaves an individual satisfied with having secured the salvation of his own soul is socially obstructive; religion must go further, if it is to command true respect, and call individuals to dedicate their lives in concrete service to the community. The truly successful church is not the one that seeks primarily to build itself up, but the one which seeks to build up the community in which its members live and work.

The social service programs of the churches include several features. (1) They are based on the

social principles of religion, its group character, its social spirit, and doctrines, such as the brotherhood of man and the Fatherhood of God. They supplement, not supplant, the individual phases of religion; they indicate whether or not the individual is sincere and intelligent in his religious protestations.

(2) Upon these social principles the churches are organizing a service procedure, focusing in volunteer social service procedure, and built upon preliminary surveys of the church as a community institution. This procedure includes both an educational and an activity program.

(3) The educational obligation involves social service classes in the church school, divided between study groups and training groups; monthly young people's programs; missionary society programs; and the Sunday evening service. The principle is slowly evolving that the morning service may be distinctly devotional and worshipful in the established sense; and that the evening service will be likewise devotional and worshipful in the new sense, namely, of considering the neighborhood, national, and world problems involved in the injunction: Love your neighbor as yourself. The social service director acts as the clergyman's prime adviser relative to the attitude that the church should take on public questions.

(4) The activity obligation refers to meeting

neighborhood human needs and the building of the neighborhood into a community of forward-looking, forward-moving persons and homes. It refers to sending forth leaders into the larger community, such as the city or county, of which the church neighborhood is an organic part. It also refers to activities extending out through the nation group and the world group. It includes the elimination of causes which crush out human lives, as well as the reclamation of wrecked lives.

Since life is neither individual nor social alone, but both, religion is neither individual nor social, but both; the social service attitude is not the whole nor a disconnected adjunct, but an integral natural phase of pure, undefiled religion. The socially-minded persons outside church groups and the individually-minded inside church groups are neither representative of religion at its best. The combination of these two attitudes working together within the church presages a new type of religious group that will yet transform the world.

PROBLEMS

1. Distinguish between individual religion and social religion.
2. What is socialized religion?
3. What is social salvation?
4. What is your church doing as a social service institution?
5. In what ways may religion make a person more individual? More social?
6. Why are many religionists intolerant?
7. What forces besides religion produce high types of character?
8. How is Christianity the most radical social force in the world?
9. What is the leading social ideal which Christianity has given to the world?
10. "Is it an advantage or disadvantage to Christianity that it began among the working class?"

CHAPTER XV

RURAL AND URBAN GROUPS

IRRESPECTIVE of membership in any of the social groups which have been discussed in the preceding chapters, every individual belongs either to a rural or an urban group. Some persons have belonged to rural groups and are now members of urban groups, or *vice versa*. The division of human groups into rural and urban is age-long and all-inclusive.

1. *Rural Groups and Problems.* Human groups have been chiefly rural. Mankind began in rural groups, developed to the level of civilization in rural groups, and only in the last century began to shift to concentrated urban group formations.

Primitive groups of people evolved a crude form of village life, but dependent directly on the cultivation of the soil, the raising of flocks, and upon the chase for a livelihood. These rural bases of life remained dominant, even after the rise of military strongholds, the establishment of permanent shrines or places of worship, and the creation of trading posts. In the Middle Ages when commercial centers surrounded themselves by walls, and included congested populations living by commerce and trade,

the rural influence was still in world control. With the creation of an industrial population there came the rise of the modern large city; in the nineteenth century, the city group began to dominate civilization. Although today several leading nations are chiefly subject to urban influences, the population of the entire world is still largely rural.

The history of mankind seems to indicate that any nation that is chiefly rural or chiefly urban is at a disadvantage. The people in the first situation are subject to inertia; and in the second, to a state of being smothered by numbers or else of being over-stimulated. A nation somewhat equally subject to rural and urban influences is likely in the long run to prove to be the strongest.

Rural life is of two types: congregated and isolated. In almost all countries rural people live in villages from which they go out, perhaps a considerable distance, in tilling the soil that is often divided in strips and cultivated intensely. In the United States the isolated farm dwelling became the rule in colonial days, and has remained such to this day. In consequence the village as a social group has degenerated. The isolation of the rural dwelling and the deadened life of the village are both socially static.

The rural mind is usually closely circumscribed. It "measures life with a yardstick." It revolves about a few people and their limited viewpoints.

The rural mind is essentially an undeveloped group mind; it has not been fully stimulated; it flares up occasionally in feuds; it has strong opinions, prejudices, and faiths.

The rural mind is highly tinged with reactions to nature. It includes friendships with pet animals, and enjoyment of woodland valleys or mountain crags and rushing streams. The spectacular demonstrations of nature's powers, especially in storms, arouse awe and also create fearful attitudes.

Rural life reflects in a large measure the life-giving and health-restoring characteristics of an outdoor existence. In contrast to the country the cities tear down the neural organization of human beings at a fearful rate. While city life tends to wear out people, country life is conducive to the preservation of energy and to long life. The rural mind is built up on bases of sturdy strength, physical endurance, continuous physical exercises, freedom from nerve-destroying speed and a fast-living night life. At its worst it is generally crude but sincere; it is frank and largely wholesome.

The rural group is a direct product of an active family group emphasis. The members of a rural family live together as a unit; its members eat three meals a day at the same table. The country is a relatively safe place in which to rear children; it does not subject childhood to many of the evils of urban life. The family lives, works, and travels

together to picnics and on holiday excursions. Country home life offers a saner training for children than does the city; it contains more genuine home life, and has few false attractions that draw the children and even the adults away from the home.

The greater possibility of independence is an advantage of the country over the city. The farmer, subject to sudden weather changes, destructive frosts or storms, and losing sometimes the gains of a year because of fruit or grain pests, or cattle plagues, does not recognize the peculiar independence of his calling. He does not appreciate the freedom that is represented by standing upon a piece of land that he can call his own, and by planning his day's work, even a year's work to suit his own ideas. He does not appreciate the freedom from committee meetings, and from "the clatter and clash, the rush and pandemonium of sound" in the midst of which the city man is doomed to spend the best part of his days.

With the development of scientific agriculture, the farmer is becoming increasingly independent of climatic changes and insect pests. With the introduction of free mail service, the telephone, and the automobile into rural life the farmer occupies a superior position. His narrow individualism is disappearing; he is becoming more and more interested in the world's affairs.

While the farmer has little chance of becoming a millionaire, he usually can make a comfortable livelihood. He is not obliged to live upon an imported food supply, as is the city man. He has plenty of room for his dwelling; he is not forced to live as a cave man on the sixth floor of a dingy tenement, or to spend his savings in becoming a slave to fashion's autocratic dictation.

The farmer has the satisfaction of being a genuine producer of the necessities of life. He generally becomes a representative of the middle classes; he rarely is an exploiter or grafter; neither does he devote his life to financial speculation.

The long hours and hard labor of the farmer represent the exceptional day's work, instead of the regular routine as in the case of the steel worker, miner, railroad employee, or even the teamster. Moreover, he is master of his own time. The introduction of labor-saving machinery has shortened farm hours and decreased the difficulty of labor, and increased the amount of leisure time.

The lot of the farmer's wife has usually been and still is full of routine. Many of the conveniences and comforts of city homes however are being introduced into rural homes. With an electric motor to operate washing machines, sewing machines, and churns, with vacuum cleaners, with electricity and gas for cooking, heating, and lighting purposes, the farm may become an attractive place for the farm-

er's wife and daughters.

Many farmers are constructing or reconstructing the farm dwellings and grounds esthetically. A small lawn with an artistic arrangement of shrubs and trees and of the driveways, gives rise to a large amount of individual satisfaction and group pride. With the passing of the unattractive, barren and drudgery features of the farm home, there comes a dynamic appreciation of the deeper values of rural life.

The social advantages of rural life are superior in many respects to those of the city. They do not represent stilted, over-formal attitudes; they do not lead to an enslaving night life. Rural people are generally frank, open, and genuine; they are rarely artificial.

The isolated farm life and sleepy village life it is true lessen the social advantages of living in the country. If the village in the United States could be appreciated as a group institution and if people instead of moving from one extreme to another, that is, from isolation to congestion, could perceive the advantages to be secured from pursuing a middle course, and develop the village, they might transform the village into a community having many of the advantages of both rural and urban life.

The farmer's opportunities to develop an intellectual life have been slight. His reading centers

in the intensely practical farm journal and perhaps the daily newspapers, although in the rural districts of most countries the daily is unknown. The farm life environment does not offer steady inducements for intellectual study. Nevertheless, with the increasing use of labor-saving machinery, the farmer's intellectual life will have larger opportunities for growth.

The rural school is undergoing transformations. Through the consolidated school, and the rural high school, a new day for rural life may be expected. The rural school with adequate educational and playground equipment, with a residence for the principal and his family, with a teaching staff that is somewhat continuous from year to year, and with a community and civic center program, will create a new type of rural life.

In many rural districts the church has been failing to meet the social situation. The salaries of rural ministers have been ridiculously low. The rural church has suffered from an absentee ministry; it cannot progress satisfactorily with non-resident leadership. The rural minister has been a misnomer; he has been a clergyman ministering to a rural parish but having his eyes set upon the more desirable city pulpit, especially if he has initiative and leadership ability; or else he has been a worn-out city preacher who has been transferred to rural parishes to spend the closing years of his

ministry. A specifically trained rural religious leadership could transform rural life and make religion a truly dynamic force.

To make matters worse there have been over-churching and sectarian conflicts. Many small rural groups have tried to support three or four denominational churches. Then, there are large numbers of unchurched rural people. Near-by city churches with their high-salaried ministers, chorus choirs, and well-organized church activities guided by energetic leaders have had a magnetic influence upon the rural people. Rural young people especially have felt this pull.

The rural church has lost a large part of the social center function that it once exercised. Decades ago the meeting-house was the only place for social intercourse. Today with good roads, automobiles, and interurban lines, the rural church is no longer the only place or the chief place at which people can meet for a social time.

The rural pastor, if properly trained, is in a strategic leadership position. In addition to a modern religious training, he should be well versed in sociology, that is, in a knowledge of the laws of human nature, group life, and social processes. He should understand the technique of making community surveys and community case histories; he should be trained in methods for making the church a leader among rural institutions. The rural church

requires socialization; it must treat of community salvation as well as individual regeneration.

If the rural school, the rural church, the Grange, and other institutions would co-operate and work together toward dynamic community ends, they could make the country so attractive, that the ablest young people who now flock to the cities, would stay and add the force of their abilities to the process of redeeming and magnifying the rural community.

Many studies have been made of rural community life and rural organization which show the importance of scientific methods in studying rural needs. They indicate that the ideal unit for rural social organization is an area varying from thirty to fifty square miles, according to the section of the country. This area may or may not coincide with the township. In many parts of the United States, it is represented today by the consolidated school district. It usually contains one or more trade centers, one or more religious centers, community halls, and four or five neighborhoods, in each of which there are from ten to fifty families.

The scientific study of rural group processes is known as rural sociology. This science which has been developing in the United States points the way to an new era, not only for rural groups but also for the national group in which rural people function vitally. The two main principles of rural

sociology have already been presented; they are represented by the fundamental concepts, rural leadership and rural social organization.

2. Urban Groups and Problems. Urban groups as common phenomena have developed in the last century. They are the products of complex social forces. They have often originated in trade foci such as those located at "breaks" in transportation lines or near the centers of agricultural or mineral resources. Sometimes they are a product chiefly of population momentum; again, they have been produced by modern industrial and commercial enterprise. Nearly all cities have profited greatly by an immigration of rural people whose ambitious eyes have been caught by the flash of urban opportunities. In all cases, the city has been built up out of the appeal which it has offered to the gregarious impulses.

In 1790 in the United States, only about three per cent of the population lived in urban groups of 8,000 or more people. Today over one half of the population is congregated directly under urban group influence. In 1800, there were only five cities in the United States which had a population of 10,000 or more; in 1900, a century later, there were 447 such cities. The urban and suburban population of the United States is increasing much more rapidly than the rural population.

The growth of urban communities, as illustrated in the preceding paragraph, is doubtless due to a variety of factors. (1) As it grows, the city makes an appeal of increasing strength to the gregarious impulses. The social contacts in cities are numerous and compelling. The ordinary person is afforded pleasure simply by seeing people, even if he does not know more than two or three persons in a large group.

(2) The amusement and recreational facilities in cities are influential factors. The city worker is able to "go out" every evening. Commercialized amusements, by specializing in making appeals in every conceivable way to the feelings, sentiments, play tendencies, and gainful impulses of children and adults alike, are effective drawing factors. By making cities their main headquarters, commercial amusements are important factors in urbanizing people.

(3) The invention of machinery, the increasing use of steam power, and the application of capital in commercial and industrial enterprises have created gigantic manufacturing plants. These institutions possess a gregarious appeal. For the sake of working side by side with many other persons, men will forego the more pleasant but somewhat isolated manner of rural work. Thus, large scale production has furthered the growth of cities.

(4) The development in methods of transporta-

tion and communication, the increased desire for communication, and the facilities which cities offer for satisfying the desire for communication are causal factors in urban development. The compactness of cities affords an individual a countless number of daily opportunities to communicate.

(5) The city offers superior educational advantages. Until recently all high schools were in cities. The elementary schools are better equipped and developed than in the country; normal schools, colleges, and trade schools are located in cities. Prominent people give lectures and addresses in urban centers. The highest paid clergy are found in cities. The libraries are located in cities; operas and art exhibits are urban productions.

(6) There is better opportunity for personal advancement in cities than in rural districts. Modern business and commerce draw young men to the cities, offering the chance of becoming wealthy. Educational leaders achieve high positions in cities. In all lines the possibilities of advancement in cities far eclipse the opportunities for power and honor in the country.

The urban group is a loose organization of people living compactly in a limited geographic area and possessing a relatively high degree of intercommunication. Industrial and business pursuits comprise the main lines of activity. Inasmuch as the people are removed from agricultural enterprise

and from direct contact with nature, they tend to live in an artificial, man-made world. As a result of this emphasis they are subject to superficiality and assume to be what they are not. Urban "society" is noted for its wastefulness, high life, and uselessness.

The urban group is developing a reputation for "namelessness." Its citizens meet and speak without knowing each other's names. One may live a year or more in the city and not know personally one-half the people whose homes are located in the same city block.

Homelessness has already been mentioned as a disturbing characteristic of cities. The boarding-house life of the city does not permit the development of real homes. An automobile first and a home afterward, or perhaps never, is frequently the urban man's slogan. To give to children a genuine home life on the sixth floor of a flat with hallways and flights of stairs as the only play space is almost impossible. A husband and wife with pet bulldogs can rent elegant quarters with ease, but not so if they possess a family of boys. The city environment often puts a premium upon childlessness and thus encourages its own destruction.

Class distinctions characterize the city. The worst crooks and the highest organized forms of religion are to be found in cities. The direst poverty often exists in the shadow of the most elegant

mansions, while the highest creative work and chronic unemployment are alike urban characteristics.

The city, especially the American city, is characterized by energy. Young ambitious people set a tremendous pace both by day and night. The stimulation and inter-stimulation are endless, but generally on superficial planes. The pace soon exceeds the ability of the human organism to maintain; hence cities have been called consumers of population. They stimulate individuals to almost inconceivable achievements, but often at tremendous sacrifice.

Interdependence is pushed to a high degree in cities. The average individual is utterly dependent with reference to the purity of the water supply or the milk supply. Preventable diseases mow down whole areas of city populations. Highly organized fire and police departments become essential, while traffic officers are needed to keep people out of each other's way, or from destroying one another accidentally.

The rural community furnishes deeply genuine attitudes, nerve stability, an indifference to luxury, and vast undeveloped ability; the urban group offers social stimulation and opportunities for rapid personal advance, for significant creative efforts, and for complex social organization. In so doing the city however exacts a terrific toll of neural

energy.

The national group that is characterized by social prevision will safeguard its rural groups from disintegration by providing for the training of adequate rural leadership and for comprehensive rural social organization; it will endeavor to transform its village groups into active intermediaries between rural and urban life, providing through them many of the advantages of urban life with little of the neural wear and tear for which cities are noted; and it will strive to make its cities into social groups where only natural home life prevails, where people are stimulated to do their best but not at the expense of the lives of other persons and where individuals are dominated only by social attitudes.

PROBLEMS

1. In what ways is a rural population useful to a nation?
2. Why is there a dearth of leadership in rural communities?
3. What disadvantages of rural life are inherent?
4. Who need the better schools, urban or rural children?
5. In what sense are cities consumers of population?
6. Why are cities overcrowded?
7. Should a law be passed in this country permitting an individual or a corporation to own not more than a certain acreage of tillable land, perhaps 500 acres?
8. Should a law be passed prohibiting any further advances in rent?
9. What is a city for?
10. How might a village be made an ideal social group?

CHAPTER XVI

RACIAL GROUPS

IRRESPECTIVE of membership in any of the social groups that have already been analyzed, every person is a member of a racial group or of racial groups. He is also subject to racial traditions, prejudices, and pride. While the human race undoubtedly had a common origin in regions extending roughly from the present territory of England to Java, it early subdivided into groups which wandered in various directions. These groups settled in and populated the inhabitable parts of the globe. As a result of different environmental conditions, primarily physical and climatic, and secondarily social and psychological, these groups became differentiated from each other. With the rise of ethnology they have been designated by different racial terms. Racial groups are in a sense the product of migration activities, which have never ceased, but have appeared in various forms and have resulted in continual processes not only of making races but also of re-making races.

1. *Migration phenomena.* Every social group is

composed of two factors: the persons who are born within the group; and those who are born in some other group, and later have migrated into the specific group. The causes of this migration vary greatly and yet fall into a few classes.

Man has always been a wanderer upon the face of the earth. Since earliest times he has wandered to and fro in search of a better living. He has ever been prone to transfer his allegiance from one group to another; he has always been more or less dissatisfied with his situation at any given time; and has felt that if he were elsewhere he would have a better opportunity and be happier. Civilization seems to be made up of many persons in whom this spirit of unrest and dissatisfaction is inherent. In fact persons who are easily satisfied have rarely progressed; civilization itself is a product largely of aspiring, hopeful, energetic human attitudes. Migration is one type of activity which the human longing for larger opportunity sometimes takes.

The leading single cause of migration is economic, that is, the desire to make a better living. Among primitive peoples, hunger was a primary force which set the human race in motion. Today the immigrant has virtually become "a seller of labor seeking a more favorable market." Since the economic advantages of the United States, Canada, Argentina, Australia, New Zealand, and Brazil have been striking, these countries during the past century

have been the chief immigration countries of the world. Political oppression, religious persecution, adventuresomeness, and the desire to join relatives have been other causes of migration.

Migration was first characterized by aimless wandering, as in the case of primitive tribes moving up and down valleys in search of food for themselves and their flocks. It then sometimes expressed itself as a mass wandering, in which a whole population moved slowly from one section of the earth to another, notably the movement of the Huns into Europe. Migration was sometimes forced; weaker peoples or offending groups have been exiled or driven out of one country and compelled to seek refuge elsewhere. Then there came a period known as colonization, when for three centuries or more nations sent out officially groups of peoples as colonists to occupy land and set up a colonial government in the name of the parent country. This movement has been furthered by nations, such as England, France, Germany, Spain, Holland, Belgium, Russia, and Italy. It practically came to an end several decades ago, but not until "immigration" had become the characteristic form of migration.

Immigration is an unofficial movement of people, either as individuals or families, who on the basis of their own initiative are moving from one established country to another established country,

although usually a newer country, for the purpose of improving their living conditions. Whenever the economic advantages of two countries are noticeably unequal, population will flow to the more favored nation. When these advantages become somewhat equalized, the population movement slows up. As the newer countries of the world have become populated, their free lands occupied, and their natural resources exploited, immigration as a modern phenomenon has decreased.

There are still millions of people, however, living for example in India and other parts of Asia in direst poverty who if they learned of civilized America and Europe and had the means would form a wave of immigration that would swamp Western peoples. Consequently, legislative barriers have been put up. These constitute another reason for the decline in immigration.

Migration is also a phenomenon of importance within a nation; people are moving from the country districts to the city, and others "back to the land." Some are migrating from one rural community to another; some from city to city or from one part of a city to another part of the same city. Withal, intra-migration is a complex, continual phenomenon.

By virtue of the fact that the person who changes groups takes with him a set of customs different from that in the group to which he goes, many

problems are caused. The greater is this difference in customs, standards of living, types of government, personal and group viewpoints, the larger and greater the problems engendered by the transfer of people from one group to another.

The industrial problems which arise in connection with immigration begin with the need of making economic adjustments. The immigrant often experiences considerable difficulty for a period of time before he finds pleasant work which pays living wages. To the extent that the conditions under which he works are favorable does the immigrant learn to love the new country and desire to become a citizen. If he is exploited or mistreated, he becomes suspicious and a sense of injustice rankles in his mind.

In the United States the immigrant is carrying the burden of labor in the coal mines, the cotton mills, the woolen mills, the clothing manufactures, the slaughtering and meat-packing industries, the manufacture of shoes, furniture manufactures, leather manufactures, and the refining of sugar. In all these activities, "the foreigner has a monopoly of the dangerous, the dirty, and the odorous trades." Moreover, industrial accidents are numerous, and the brunt of them has fallen upon the immigrant and also upon his family. In the matter of compensation for injuries the immigrant, or his family, has in many cases received almost nothing.

Immigrants commonly suffer housing and health difficulties. They usually go to live with relatives, causing overcrowding. In the United States the influx of immigrants for several decades has usually been to the overcrowded sections of the population centers. Poor health conditions accompany inadequate housing. The immigrant is at a great disadvantage in a strange country, especially if he and his family must live where sanitation, plumbing, ventilation, air space, and other normal health conditions are not found, or exist only to a small degree.

The social problems of the immigrant are also serious. If he does not know the language of the adopted country, he is isolated from coming in contact with its culture. A great barrier naturally exists between immigrants and natives where neither group speaks the language of the other. Misunderstandings thus easily arise, leading to conflicts. The stranger, foreigner, and immigrant are generally regarded with prejudice. This sentiment expresses itself in a condescending attitude, scorn, and sometimes in open derision. The problem emerges in social situations where race conflict or assimilation are the main phenomena. The social problems resulting from migration will be presented in the remaining sections of this chapter in the analyses of racial conflicts, assimilation, and amalgamation.

2. *Racial Conflicts.* Wherever racial groups markedly different exist together, race problems may become insuperable. They are usually caused by physical differences, and by economic and social competition. The first cause is racial, originating in different climatic and biologic backgrounds. The second cause springs up whenever leading members of the less developed race begin to advance beyond the less efficient persons in the more advanced race, and when representatives of the lower race begin to demand social equality with the higher race.

In the United States the presence of millions of Negroes, representing a population several times as large as the entire population of the nation when Washington was president, has created a race friction which developed with peculiar force during the post-slavery days and which the World War for democracy and the post-war hysteria have fanned into almost uncontrolled flames. The Negro soldiers to the number of 400,000 were in the American Expeditionary Forces; one-half of this number went to France. They understood that they were fighting for democracy. To their surprise they found that the color line was not drawn in France and Italy, especially among the peasant peoples of these countries; but to their chagrin upon returning to the United States the color line was drawn tighter than when they went to Europe. This chagrin spread among the Negroes and culminated

in a troublesome social unrest, which was countered by a revival of Ku Klux Klan activities. This movement has used fear, which rarely eliminates causes, and which often stimulates an increased degree of race friction.

One main attitude toward the Negro situation in the United States was ably represented by Booker T. Washington, who urged first industrial efficiency among the Negroes and then professional efficiency. In social relations the races are to remain separate as the fingers of the hand, but in other matters to work together. By showing his worth, the Negro will be able to undermine the prejudice against him.

The white man in turn has a definite responsibility, which consists in being willing to recognize true worth, ability, and personality wherever they may be found, irrespective of race or color. In a democracy such as the United States the white man must be willing to give the Negro the vote as soon as he is qualified. The mere fact that a person is born in this country and has reached twenty-one years of age is no guarantee that he is a competent voter. An educational test would be meritorious, providing it had to be passed by all persons alike, Indians, Caucasians, and Negroes, and also by immigrants. When the Negro reaches a high educational level the birth rate of the race will probably drop to that of the white race; and political justice can be rendered without creating special problems

of insuperable difficulty.

In turn, the Negro has a special responsibility, namely, of resting his case upon achievement rather than upon boasting. Race friction is always caused by the less developed race tending to flaunt its successes before the members of the more developed group.

Lynching needs to be considered as a federal offense. Whenever it is a local offense, to be tried in the local courts, it is considered lightly. The use of fear in treating the Negroes does not eliminate causes, but increases the sense of injustice and leads to counter moves. Intimidation represses but does not solve social problems.

The most promising method of dealing with both the Negro problem and the Negro's problem is through local joint committees in every community where the white and colored people reside. Broad-minded representatives of both races can approach all the problems in fairness and consider them in the light of all the peculiar local factors. Upon the basis of these local conferences and findings, it will be possible to work out the methods for solving the problems in the large, that is, for the nation.

Race prejudice can be undermined only by slow educational processes. A great deal of race prejudice arises from misunderstanding, and even from ignorance of the worth and potentialities of the other fellow. When the Negro in rising permits his

increasing worth to speak for itself and when white people treat the Negro without unfair prejudice, the race problems that are now so perplexing may be solved.

Another illustration of racial conflict may be drawn from the United States, especially from California where friction between the Japanese and the white people began to create trouble about 1907. By their industry, frugality, and low standards of living the Japanese were competing successfully with white farmers. As a result of the different color of their skin and their different type of culture, they attracted undue attention to themselves. With the importation of wives and the growth in the Japanese birth rate, the situation attracted the attention of the newspapers, which were induced to conduct a thorough propaganda against Japanese immigrants. And then in 1913, California passed an anti-alien land law that debarred the Japanese from buying land, and from leasing land for longer than three years at a time. This latter privilege was denied the Japanese in 1920.

The problem is racial and economic. California cannot afford to be flooded with immigrants possessing low economic standards and physical and mental traits markedly different from Caucasians, but her method of treating the situation has been narrow visioned. She has hardly been willing to proceed except on a provincial basis; she has ignored

the larger international aspects of the situation and offended the proud spirit and the good will of the Japanese.

In the United States the naturalization law excludes the Japanese (and Chinese) from citizenship, although admitting African and Caucasian immigrants to this privilege. It is a mistake to admit the representatives of any race and then to hold them aloof by giving them no opportunity to become naturalized and to function as citizens. It would be desirable through educational tests to make rather strict qualifications for voting on the basis of personal worth and mental ability, and then to repeal all racial naturalization restrictions. With high worth and potentiality being required for admission to the country; and actual worth and ability, for voting, all racially discriminatory immigration and naturalization legislation could be rescinded. The nation would be protected and at the same time cause its profession of justice, fair play, and democracy to ring true in those parts of the world where now it is counted insincere.

3. *Assimilation and Amalgamation.* The presence together of persons racially or mentally different creates the problems of assimilation and amalgamation. Assimilation means the adoption of the spiritual inheritance of a people, that is, of its standards, customs, institutions, and ideals. In a

broader sense it means giving as well as becoming; it also involves a union of attitudes, which enables people to think and act together.

An old theory is that the immigrant should give up his traditions and adopt those of the country to which he has migrated. Such a method means that the immigrant merely shifts from one intolerant group to another intolerant group. This procedure is based on an exaggerated race pride, which approximates group selfishness.

Another theory is that the immigrant should be "melted" into the body politic. He should contribute his cultural gifts, and lose his racial identity in his adopted national group. This theory has much of merit in its fundamental principles. It however does not allow enough for racial distinctions, because an immigrant cannot easily give up all connections with his homeland, the land of his birth, his childhood days, and the land perhaps in which his parents still live.

The belief that an immigrant should give up and forget as soon as possible his native language is begotten of false local pride. The immigrant brings a precious gift in his foreign language. A truly cultured group is one in which many of whose members are bi-linguists. Through the language that they bring, immigrants constitute for the group to which they migrate open gates to the cultures of the world. It is needless to argue that an immi-

grant should learn promptly the language of the adopted group.

In the United States the assimilation process has been receiving attention under the name of Americanization. For many years this country gave no attention to the problem of assimilation, leaving the whole matter to a formal type of naturalization work. Then the melting pot figure of speech was given the country in 1909 and the American rested content in the belief that immigrants were being assimilated but was not disturbed by the open fact that in all the congested districts of all large cities the immigrants were living in ever enlarging colonies, having few contacts with Americanism except in its lowest forms.

The World War made evident to the American people that by virtue of their neglect, millions of persons had been allowed to live in the country without having any reasonable opportunity to become Americans in spirit. Americanization of a narrow type was undertaken with a vengeance; it attempted to use Prussian methods of compulsion. Several years after the war closed an educational type of Americanization came to prevail.

The public schools are the leading agent of assimilation in the United States. Children from different racial groups are thrown into mutual relationship with one another and with American children. The gradual adoption of American ways of thinking

takes place. The teaching of the English language and of American traditions and customs also plays an important part in the assimilating process.

The immigrant children become assimilated first, the fathers next, and the mothers, last of all. The fathers find their contacts with American life in the factories, mills, and other places of work. They first learn American profanity; and then, often get their first lessons in Americanism from the curses of the foremen and bosses. To meet an urgent need, classes in English have been established in factories. This industrial work is usually carried on through public school teachers.

The immigrant mothers have least opportunity to learn Americanism; they have almost no contacts with American people and little opportunity to learn even the English language. They live in a world of isolation. To that end the visiting teacher, referred to in a preceding chapter, serves as a beneficent friend, guide, and Americanizer.

The physical environment, American institutions, manners, and life surround the immigrant and serve as powerful indirect factors in bringing about changes in manners of dress and living. Immigrant colonies however prevent these contacts; American race prejudice is also a deadening factor.

A better distribution of immigrants is needed. To move immigrants from the cities into rural districts sounds practical in view of the fact that a

large percentage of immigrants have come from rural provinces of Europe, and have settled in American cities in order to be near relatives and friends. Why not therefore move whole groups into rural districts? The experiment has been tried but has succeeded only in a small degree. American rural life is built around the American isolated farm dwelling plan. The rural peoples of Europe do not live in this way, but in villages, and therefore find the isolated farm dwelling method almost unbearable.

A true distribution of immigrants is not primarily geographic in nature, but social and psychological. In other words immigrant distribution should be conducted so that each immigrant will have many contacts daily or regularly with Americans who worthily represent American ideals. Such contacts will naturally and easily lead the immigrant into a love of the nation that no evil force can defeat.

The trade union is another assimilating force. It teaches the immigrant self government and to obey officers whom he himself elects. In participating in union meetings he often learns his first lesson in political democracy. The union encourages the foreigner to adopt American standards of living. The conscientious employer is also an assimilation factor to the extent that he treats his employees democratically, and assists in conducting industrial classes for his employees.

Wherein lies the responsibility for the non-assimilated immigrants in the United States? Partly, in the fact that immigrants have been coming in large numbers, and partly in another fact, namely that the native born people have given little attention to the welfare of the immigrant. Americans have been so busy in striving for individual pecuniary success that they have not taken time to show that consideration to immigrants which leads naturally to Americanization.

The responsibility for non-assimilation rests upon both immigrants and the native born. When given a normal chance the immigrant usually becomes assimilated without special difficulty. Immigrants, irrespective of race, faith, or class, should be encouraged, regardless of the faults of their neighbors and the community. In return, their neighbors whether native or immigrant, need to treat them democratically. The community may well afford to encourage the immigrant and the native in this method of real Americanization.

In the past, the United States has placed emphasis upon the individual, and allowed the "masses" to increase, to become disgruntled, and in many instances, to sink to a low level. She has been busy developing, even exploiting, her natural resources to the advantage of the few more than to the gain of the masses. In her haste to develop the natural resources, the best *national* resources, namely, the

good will of her masses has been strained at times to the disintegrating point. There has been a tendency to discount spiritual values, and especially to neglect the immigrant forces in the land.

A new attitude of personal helpfulness toward the immigrant is needed on the part of all Americans. When one comes to know the history of any race, he understands the weaknesses of that race, feels sorry for the race, and his hatred shifts from peoples to destructive traits. If it is true that all races are alike at their best and their worst, thus proving their essential unity, the exponents of democracy may take hope.

Of primary importance is the necessity of working out an adequate and permanent assimilation policy based on the development of American ideals. In this connection the United States may learn much from Canada, where a real Canadianization procedure has been followed for years. Canadianization has meant a governmental interest by Canada in the welfare of her people and especially of her immigrants far superior to the attitude of the United States toward her immigrant peoples. Canada has analyzed her own needs, determined upon the kind of immigrants that she has needed, and then sent for them to come—from the United States, England, Scotland, Ireland, and the continent of Europe. She has officially encouraged persons to immigrate who would settle upon her farms,

and discouraged many types of city people from coming. When they have arrived she has met them at the gates, helped them to get adjusted to the new conditions, and tried to protect them from exploitation. Her immigration halls and labor exchanges have rendered free service. By softening the harsh conditions of adjustment, the immigrant's good will has been won. Any country may do likewise, and in so doing will find her immigration problems diminishing in severity.

Closely related to assimilation is the process known as amalgamation. This refers to the biological union of peoples and the creation of new racial stocks. Inter-marriage between races produces amalgamation. It is a process that cannot be forced to a great degree and yet one that occurs naturally when assimilation has taken place. It is a process of the centuries, whereas assimilation is one of the decades.

The amalgamation of races somewhat different from each other is to be favored. The result has usually been a race stronger than any of the parent races. The English, Germans, and Scotch-Irish are outstanding illustrations of amalgamated races. The amalgamation of races widely different in type, such as the white and yellow, or white and black, has never taken place under normal conditions, but ordinarily in illegal ways and under conditions of vice. Nature apparently does not object to such

intermixture of races but social standards forbid. As indicated in the analysis in a preceding chapter on community groups, it probably is well to work toward world unity of thought and culture but not necessarily race unity.

In summary of the several chapters on the subject of human groups, it may be said that every individual is born a member of a parental family, of a racial group, of a nation group, and of either a rural or an urban group. He may elect to establish a family group of his own, to change his nation, or to move from the rural to an urban group, or *vice versa*, but he cannot change his parental or racial group lineage. He early finds himself a member of play groups, school groups, community groups, and usually of a church group. Any of these group connections may be temporary; circumstances or personal choices may lead to changes. Moreover the individual's group vision may change. For example, his vision at first is limited to the family group, then it expands through play and community group activities; it reaches a nation group loyalty; and then through various educational and perhaps religious or other group processes, the individual may acquire a world social attitude.

In all these situations the individual begins sooner or later to examine the conditions by which groups control him, and the ways in which he may

influence group life. Group Control thus becomes the remaining major theme to be considered.

PROBLEMS

1. Why do people migrate?
2. Have you or your parents moved from one home to another? Why?
3. Distinguish between colonization and immigration.
4. Illustrate the way in which migration causes progressiveness.
5. "What is the underlying reason for permitting immigration to the United States?"
6. Why do immigrants tend to go to the already overcrowded districts in large cities?
7. Distinguish between inter-migration and intra-migration.
8. What is race prejudice?
9. What is the Negro's problem in the United States?
10. Why do Americans object to the industry and frugality of Japanese immigrants?
11. In what way is the naturalization law in the United States defective?
12. Distinguish between assimilation and Americanization.
13. What are the leading traits of an ideal American citizen?
14. What is Americanization?
15. Why is distribution of immigrants significant?
16. Why is the group life of the individual of vital importance?

CHAPTER XVII

GROUP CONTROL

THE INDIRECT and direct ways in which the attitudes of a person and his sense of social values are influenced by the groups of which he is a member are illustrations of group control, a process to which the attention of the student has already been called. Sometimes this process is repressive, and sometimes stimulative. Again, it may operate through the use of physical force, or in subtle and subjective fashion. The group control process is intricately complex, and its analysis exceedingly difficult.

1. *The Nature of Group Control.* In one of its simplest forms group control may be illustrated by reference to the small child who is influenced by the attitudes of his parents, who in turn have had their interests largely determined by countless social forces. As the infant grows he sometimes comes into conflict with a parent; his acquired habit of desiring to be taken up and rocked may be denied. For several years the child thus is subject to parental control. The parents alternate between loving

attitudes and the use of physical force in the process of exercising control. If they allow anger to express itself against the child, he is likely to feel angry in return and to harbor a sense of gross injustice. If this process is repeated time and again, the child who has a strong ego, will likely develop an attitude of hatred toward his parents, and when he grows older, will run away and openly defy parental control.

The importance of maintaining parental control with love and firmness cannot be overestimated, for thereby in later years social and national control do not become serious problems. As shown in Chapter VI the family group is better fitted than any other for teaching the concepts of obedience, the meaning of discipline, and for developing a constructive group attitude.

In the play group, children divide themselves into leaders and followers. Children in a play group often will obey a leader more naturally than a parent, for there is not the disparity of viewpoint between the leader and the other children that there is between parent and child. In the play group the individual will sometimes take severe punishment from other children without whimpering, whereas slight punishment from a parent may produce an outburst of uncontrolled anger.

In the school group social control is reduced to special forms of routine. Regular hours, seating

arrangements, and lesson assignments must be observed. This rigidity is necessary and yet a too sharp contact with it turns many young adolescents, especially boys, away from school life. The play group life that the school affords is a saving factor for countless children.

The religious group processes illustrate another type of control, a control which finds its sanction in a belief in the unseen God. The eye of God sees in secret; it penetrates everywhere, even to the most secret place of the heart and mind. Individuals thus find themselves regulating their conduct according to their interpretation of the wishes of God. This extra-group control is essentially social in character.

The national group in particular and all groups in general rely heavily on group opinion and law as the two chief means of control. These factors, while crystallized as positive elements in national life, possess such wide ramifications that they will be considered together in the next section. Suffice it to say here that group control and individual initiative represent the two poles of group life. Both are essential; yet either in an extreme form can destroy the force of the other, and in so doing destroy the group itself. Both must be viewed rationally, used altruistically, that is, group control must have as its standard of value, personal growth; and individual initiative may express itself best only in line

with group welfare.

2. *Control Through Public Opinion and Law.* The more important direct means by which individuals are ruled or influenced by the groups of which they are members include factors such as customs, taboo, ritual, law, and public opinion.

(1) A large part of individual and social conduct, both in primitive and civilized life, is based on group approved ways of acting, common to the specific group and well established through being passed on from generation to generation. These customs, or *mores*, represent or have represented successful methods of doing or thinking. Hence they have acquired prestige and are group sanctioned. The individual is constrained to conduct himself according to the dictates of these customs.

The older men, especially the priests and the medicine men, among primitive peoples are the guardians of the *mores*. In civilized groups, the older men, including those in the professions, law, teaching, the ministry, and the like, are also guardians of the customary ways of acting.

The real authority behind the *mores* of course is the group itself. The group includes not simply the living visible members. The memories of those who have departed from this life exert forceful influence. The group voices itself in forms of approval or disapproval. Group approval is expressed frequently

in songs, medals, honorable mention, and parades. Group ridicule is such a severe form of punishment that most individuals cannot long withstand it. In their outward behavior many persons live on higher levels of activity than they would if they were not continually in danger of inviting group contempt.

(2) Taboo is a unique method of enforcing a custom; it possesses peculiar and terrible strength. Among primitives, taboo prohibits any contact with certain objects or persons under penalty of harm being done by unseen beings. In order to be certain of protecting a shrine, the chieftain may place a taboo upon a given spot of ground. Whoever violates the taboo will be stricken to death—such is the taboo's powerful threat.

Among civilized peoples, taboo exists. It operates by restraining the impulses of individuals. Its psychological quality is found in the fear of consequences which is engendered in the mind of the person who is thinking of pursuing a doubtful course of behavior. It acts as a "Thou shalt not." It is ordinarily the negative guardian of behavior.

(3) Ritual is the positive agent in increasing the strength of custom. It operates by the formation of habits. The charm of orderly movements, according to Dewey and Tufts, together with the impressiveness of ordered masses in processions, and the awe of mystery all assist in stamping in the meaning and value of the specific set of symbols or

ways of acting. Ritual secures the actual doing, and also at the same time the formation of habits in the lives of individuals.

The college freshman or sophomore who joins a fraternity must submit to a set of initiation ceremonies, that is, ritual. The ritualistic ceremonies, partly formal and partly informal, are generally arranged so as to humiliate the individual and to magnify the ideals and standards of the group. In the name of group ritual, many irrational "jokes" are perpetrated upon innocent blindfolded initiates; thus a worthy social institution is sometimes debased by its well-meaning but unthinking friends.

(4) The ideas of justice in primitive groups are found in a body of customs, known as laws or rules to which absolute validity is given. Justice is the aim. The chief source of the growth of ideas of justice and of changes in legal rules lies in the power of the chieftain or king to decide new cases. In higher stages of civilization, the need for a more adequate method of legal procedure has been met through the establishment of courts. Until recent decades the adjudication of new and particular cases continued to be the source of almost all the additions to "law"; today, however, nearly all new expressions of law have their source in legislative bodies, which have been founded for the purpose of making new laws. The main force which gives law its validity is found in group opinion.

To understand the significance of law, one should have a knowledge of the organization, development, and functioning of group life and processes. Legal texts and codes always presuppose some theory of the nature of human society. Earliest Roman law assumed that the religious view of social organization was inherent in ancestor worship. Later Roman law rested on the assumption that the social order was a matter of "contract" between independent individuals. Through the influence of the church during the Middle Ages, the conception of law as a divine command dominated. Today the real foundation of law has been discovered in the welfare of the people. The courts in their interpretations of law are manifesting a changing attitude; there is less blind adherence to precedents, often antiquated, and more consideration of public welfare in interpreting law.

The exercise by the state of restraint of the individual becomes increasingly necessary in an increasingly complex collective life. When people traveled in ox carts, traffic ordinances were not needed; but in an age of automobiles definite laws restricting individuals must be made and enforced in behalf of the common welfare. The coercive character of law is justified by the needs of controlling individual behavior in the direction of group safety and advantage. The law hence aims to maintain certain minimum standards of social conduct which

are necessary for the safety of society. The civil and criminal law become two main pillars which sustain the social structure in any nation.

Law has been called the most specialized and highly finished engine of control employed by society. Its double function has been analyzed by Edward A. Ross: it deals repressively with individuals with respect to certain of their aggressive acts; and also with them respecting their neglects, especially with reference to contracts. In general it is easier to prevent men from unduly interfering with one another's activities, than it is to compel co-operation. The law secures respect for itself through a system of punishments. Law commonly uses physical punishment indirectly, in that the convicted person is incarcerated in a cell away from his home friends and given a very limited bodily freedom.

Since civil and criminal law are the main pillars of group stability, it is the lawyer's function to help preserve the social order. The legal profession has been pronounced a social service profession, as much so as teaching or the ministry. If this sociological view of law is correct, then the commercialized conception of the profession, namely, of having personal service to sell to individuals and corporations who can pay for them and who use them for individual and corporate gain irrespective of social welfare is false. The members of the legal

profession should consider themselves social servants, rather than the salaried spokesmen of persons or corporations who can pay.

(5) Public opinion is the force upon which law depends for its support. It is in public opinion, in a democracy, that law finds its sanction. Public opinion when crystallized becomes law, either written or unwritten.

Public opinion acts more quickly than does law. It is a less expensive means of group control. As Edward A. Ross has pointed out, public opinion is less mechanical than law, and penetrates the hidden regions of life; it passes judgment upon purely private acts. It is an inexpensive means of control. "The inexpensiveness of praise or blame is marvelous." Human conduct is continually conditioned by the fact that public opinion will be ruthlessly expressed.

Public opinion, however, has defects. It is not clear, nor precise nor codified; it has "a short wrath and a poor memory." It is rarely unanimous; an offender against society can escape the condemnation of public opinion by taking refuge among a group of friends where his fault is condoned or even praised. If responsibility can be shifted, for example, when a corporation has committed an offense, public opinion is confused. Public opinion is primitive in its methods, instinctive and passionate. "Its frown is capricious and its favor is fitful."

There are other agencies of social control, such as religious beliefs, direct and indirect suggestions, slogans, and shibboleths. Art is a highly significant form of social control; hence the next section of this chapter will be devoted to an interpretation of this theme.

3. *Control Through Art.* Art finds its expression in the order, rhythm, and symmetry which in one form or another may be observed everywhere in the universe. It is natural that human beings should be peculiarly susceptible to "the influence of that which pervades and rules in the heavens and the earth, and in the mind and body." Celestial bodies move orderly and rhythmically. Sight would not be possible if it were not for the rhythmical vibrations of "ether," and sound would be unknown were it not for the rhythmical vibrations of air. The heart beats orderly and rhythmically. It is not surprising, therefore, that human beings respond to that which is orderly, symmetrical, and hence which in general is esthetic.

Art influences people through the pattern forms which it produces. These patterns give a setting to all human life; they are fundamental to human attitudes. They express themselves through personal decoration, ornamentation, architecture, painting, and sculpture. These arts set static patterns. In the dance, song, poetry, music, and pub-

lic speech the pattern forms possess a moving dynamic element. In all these fields art creates an ideal world with a peculiar drawing power for human beings. The appeal is usually made through the feelings, and hence human beings in interpreting art forms are subject to error. Art therefore needs censorship, in order to safeguard the ordinary individual from being controlled by false interpretations of erratic devotees.

Art is a strong factor in control because of its indirect suggestion. Its appeal is not made on the reasoning or rational plane and therefore does not directly arouse argument. Art does not moralize; it sets examples which because of their feeling elements easily secure adoption.

The decorating of the human body represents an original form of art control. In his everyday life, the primitive Australian is satisfied with a few spots on his cheeks and shoulders, but on festive occasions, he extends the painting over his whole body. Bodily decoration by painting is transitory, hence two means of impressing designs on the body permanently have been devised: scarification for dark-skinned peoples, and tattooing for fair-skinned races.

Hair dressing has been set in artistic forms. Among primitives the hair is sometimes thickly kneaded with red ochre and fat, while feathers, crabs, clams, and so forth are placed in the viscous

locks. The feather has maintained its original place in decoration throughout the ages and during all the stages of culture. It waves on the helmet of the civilized as well as on the headband of the primitive warrior. Among both primitive and civilized peoples birds have borne the chief expense of head-dress; even the Bushman's fashion of wearing birds' heads, or even whole birds is perennially raised into group honor.

Civilization has not succeeded in freeing itself from control by the decorative forms which appealed to primitive groups. The development of decoration has increased the range of materials used and refined the technique, according to Ernst Grosse, but it has not contributed an important new form of personal decoration.

Architecture exercises a peculiar force on mankind through its pattern forms. These are (1) buildings for protection; (2) structures for purposes of transit, notably, bridges, aqueducts, and tunnels; and (3) structures for memorial purposes—in memorial forms for the dead and to commemorate historic events.

The chief architectural form is the dwelling in its various expressions. For commercial purposes there is the store, the factory, the warehouse, the bank; for educational needs there is the school-house, college hall, library, and public hall; for governmental purposes there is the courthouse, prison,

fort, legislative hall, and for religious worship, the church, the cathedral, the temple have been designed. Chief of all is the dwelling for the family, described by John Bascom, as "the orb of childhood, the nest, the nursery, and the school of the human callow: it is the home of manhood, its center of exertion and enjoyment, its points of departure and return: it is the repose of age; thither weary and spent, man turns to lay down his burden."

Painting, supplementing the art of drawing which was an influential factor among primitive people, has included many phases of human life. It may deliver the whole force of a historic event or of a life-long biography in a moment of time; it may give the observer at a glance an interpretation of vast currents of affection and emotion "as they surge on in full volume."

The power and force of painting lie in the method of presenting fundamental truth, current and historical, so as to influence countless human beings deeply. In recent years some painters, such as Herman Heyenbrock, have been presenting social and industrial conditions in a way that brings important principles home to people otherwise decidedly unaware of many real human needs.

Sculpture is at one and the same time the most laborious and imperishable of art forms. Man is the chief subject of sculpture; the human face has been called the citadel of sculpture. Sculpture gives

expression to the highest characteristics of mankind, and puts them into forms more permanent than paintings, prose, poetry, or music. When the solemn, vital elements of human life are presented in silent, sculptural patterns, they influence people of all times, irrespective of race or language.

The bronze group entitled "The Mother of the Dead" by G. S. Pietro illustrates well the social force of sculpture. The sculptor has caught the lonely vacant stare of the mother of the dead soldier and the groping pathos of the little grandchild in her arms, immortalized them in marble, and set them above the world in imperishable form.

The dance has always had wide social significance. The dances of primitive peoples were usually mass dances, executed ordinarily by the men alone, with the women furnishing the musical accompaniment. They were used to celebrate group victories or to arouse the courage of the group preceding any serious undertaking, especially a battle. The dancing group felt and acted as a single organism. The event accustomed men who in their precarious conditions of life were driven hither and thither by different individual needs to act together with united feelings for a single object; it was a powerful element of control.

As the size of primitive tribes grew, the members became too numerous to join in the mass dance. Hence the dance began to lose its socializing power,

although it changed its form, especially that which had a strong sex appeal. The "square" dances are socially wholesome, but unfortunately have lost their popularity of a century ago. The folk dances while subject to abuses, are historically and esthetically effective. The ballet dance has excellent possibilities but often degenerates into "distorted perversions of nature," arousing vulgar curiosity. The "round" dance has one leading function left to it, that of facilitating the mutual approach of the sexes; it perennially stresses immoral patterns, as in the case of the "shimmy."

Music through its influence over the feelings is a gigantic element of control. It is a language which speaks to all mankind; it breaks through all racial groups. The singing together of the members of a group of people unites them. Choral singing of the non-professional type is one of the highest means of promoting a sense of brotherhood; it is one of the most effective forms of group communion. In a religious group music is a strong force in developing a common spirit of worship, while in military life nothing is more stirring or provocative of action than the martial music of a hundred-piece band. National songs bring millions to their feet with shouts of enthusiastic loyalty.

Poetry comes from the feelings and goes to the feelings, hence its significance as a control instrument. A single great poet or poem has helped

to shape the lives of whole generations. Through a single work, poetry has more than once given a specific stamp to an entire national group. Poetry unites people, whom the interests of life separate, by invoking the same feelings in all. By constantly repeating its patterns, it finally produces a lasting mood. Poetry not only unites people, it may also elevate them, by awakening in them a more refined and richer emotional life than that which practical experiences have matured in them.

Poetry connects succeeding generations. Through poetry, posterity recognizes the voices of its ancestors, and the joys and sorrows of those who have gone before. Thus, people are made to feel that they are members of one vast aggregate past and present united and the process of socialization is realized. Social poetry furnishes effective patterns for socialization. Organized labor and other industrial forces are extensively using social poetry. By setting an industrial aspiration or need to poetic form and using it in song, whole groups develop a common thrill and undertake tremendous tasks.

Social hymns constitute an important control factor. They combine the force of art and religion in behalf of an improved group life and of socialized behavior. Religion itself in so far as it expresses itself in social ideals is a vital phase of group control.

Social drama and fiction carry significant con-

cepts to multitudes. The field is not yet developed, but because of the wide reading and hearing which fiction and drama are accorded and because of the principle of indirect suggestion upon which they are based, they may yet become leading forces in social control.

The newspaper sets pattern opinions and especially pattern feelings for millions of persons daily. The control while often indirect and productive of more or less unconscious effects is increasingly far-reaching. Since it is often based on opinions and emotional reactions rather than verified facts its control influence is often deleterious. The cinema likewise is setting pattern examples of feeling and action before millions of persons daily. Even more than do the newspapers the cinema exerts melodramatic influence. In using all the art of indirect suggestion it is an overpowering engine of control.

The social control of public speaking lies chiefly in its persuasiveness. To speak to an assembly composed of people of various callings, views, and prejudices, and unite them in common action—therein lies the social power of public speaking. To make truth and justice, wisdom and virtue, patriotism and religion, holier and more socially useful than men had even dreamed them to be—this is the control element at its best in public speaking.

Art as an agent of social control has changed its course during the past ages. Among primitive

peoples, ornamentation pre-eminently promoted technical skill. Poetry, the dance, and music arose partly because they inflamed and inspired the warriors—who were the bulwark of the group against hostile attacks. The most powerful social influence among primitives was vested in the dance.

It has been shown by Ernst Grosse that to the Greeks, sculpture incorporated the social ideal at its highest; how in the Middle Ages, architecture united bodies and souls in the halls of magnificent cathedrals; how during the Renaissance, painting spoke a language that was heeded by all the cultivated peoples of Europe; and how more recently poetry and music have predominated. Still more recently, it has seemed that the newspaper and the cinema, in forms often far from esthetic have come to dominate the thinking of millions.

Today art stands with science as complementary and influential means of directing the human race. As science through normal educational processes has resulted in the enlargement of intellectual life, so art has enriched the emotional life. Among primitives, art exercised its control through group unification. With civilized peoples art has also occupied a leading position in elevating the spirit of mankind. By getting into the *mores* and utilizing custom, taboo, and ritual, and by setting new patterns or molds for shaping public opinion and even law, art becomes a deep-seated and often un-

suspected indirect force in determining the trend of social evolution.

Art, as well as science and religion, public opinion and law, expresses itself most forcibly through personal behavior. Control through personal behavior as a vehicle of interpretation and through the pattern-examples that are personified, constitutes our next main theme.

PROBLEMS

1. What is group control?
2. What is a custom?
3. Name a taboo that you have felt.
4. How have you experienced the force of public opinion?
5. What is law?
6. What is social legislation?
7. Is it true that law is expensive to the poor man who is seeking justice?
8. Why has art been so generally depreciated in the United States?
9. Why was sculpture more effective among the Greeks than earlier or since?
10. Why did architecture reach the zenith of its power in the Middle Ages?
11. Why did painting exert a greater force in the Renaissance than at any other time?
12. What signs do you see of an increasing appreciation of art in the United States?
13. Is culture and art as practical an aim as making a living?
14. Why is art a powerful element in social control?

CHAPTER XVIII

GROUP CONTROL THROUGH PERSONAL BEHAVIOR

PERSONAL CONTROL is represented chiefly by attitudes, habits, and character. These depend upon the original nature of man, social heritage, and group stimulation. Society by stimulating the social impulses of the individual, may engender a splendid type of personal control, or by arousing the anti-social nature of man, destructive expressions of personal control. Society may fail to stimulate any of the native impulses and leave the individual with a *laissez faire*, shiftless attitude toward life, that is, may fail to develop any appreciable degree of self respect or personal control in individuals. Through its influence upon the attitudes which control individuals, society possesses a grave responsibility. In order to understand this problem it is necessary first to analyze personal behavior further than has already been done.

1. *Personal Control.* The individual possesses ancestral traits; he is also characterized by qualities that are possessed by no one else. The ancestral

traits are marvelously combined in a given person ; it is estimated that the total population of the world would have to be multiplied forty times before it would occur that the lines on the tips of the forefinger of the right hand of two persons would be identical. Every individual by birth is unique.

There are different degrees of uniqueness. There are differences in degree of initiative, in the inheritance of musical or mathematical ability, and also in degree of sympathetic response. Individual initiative and energy when coupled with persistence lead to achievement and produce a type of genius. Energy may be concentrated by nature, producing a born genius ; or by the individual himself, resulting in a genius by hard work.

At any rate the individual, by virtue of his strong ego and of his uniqueness, frequently finds himself in conflict with the group. The small child may fight parental control, playground control, school control—with fists and violence. Whenever the individual faces control suddenly he struggles to overthrow it and to set up by revolution a new form of control such as suits his personal interpretation.

When he faces control in a milder way, he may move against it by educational means, by starting currents of contrary opinion ; he ultimately hopes to create a new form of control. Thus the individual may be able actually to control the current forms of control by setting new pattern ideas. If these find a

response widespread enough in human needs, they will come to modify the prevailing expressions of control. It is in this way that personal behavior is socially dynamic.

Personal behavior is thus a force of primary importance. Every individual has a sphere of influence from which move out currents of social power. In its elemental forms, personal behavior is non-social, egoistic, and seeking the satisfaction of its own inherent impulses. Elemental behavior is represented by the child who is learning from his experiences, that is, from his experiments in making adjustments to the environment, both physical and social. After slamming the door shut on his finger once, he is generally cautious thereafter. After defying a firm, wise parent once, he usually comes to see the wisdom in obedience. As he grows older he learns to give consideration to the interests of others. If he does not do so, he finds himself isolated from friends, and so from selfish impulses he may develop a kind of sociableness. The destruction of articles which belong to parents or other persons brings punishment.

When self consciousness develops, as over against consciousness of other persons, moral conflicts for the individual arise with frequency, often of a very severe nature. In the play group especially, the individual soon learns that he must submerge his interests at times, and gladly so, to the welfare

of others. In the case of boys, this lesson is often not learned until the individual has received blows from the fists of other boys.

Work itself is a character builder. The individual who becomes a successful worker, must possess or develop the fundamental social qualities of purpose, foresight, reliability, and loyalty. In modern industry, concerted effort is necessary.

The arts and crafts, aside from their influence as work, have a distinctly elevating and refining effect. They give some visible or audible embodiment of order or form. In conforming to this order, the child, the primitive man, and the civilized man are in training for that more conscious control where order and law may oppose the impulses.

A participation in family life tends to develop and to make habitual a high type of control, to make life serious, to overcome selfishness, and to project thought forward into the future. Family life tends to arouse in the child the traits of sympathy, of give-and-take, and of altruism. Work, participation in family life, and related activities require that the individual organize those habits which are the bases of self control, instead of yielding entirely to the impulses for pleasure.

Personal control is generally determined by group standards as revealed in customs and public opinion. To a surprising degree people live according to the dictates of custom control. If they live up

to the level of the generally accepted moral standards of the group they feel at ease. If one's group endorses automobile speeding, cheating in examinations, midnight carousals, or lying in reporting property to the assessor the guilty person feels no pangs of conscience but may even boast of his anti-social action. Nearly all the actions of average individuals have their control bases either in elementary factors, customs, or public opinion.

Each profession and institution has a code of standards which guides the ordinary individual in his judgments. The individual usually plays according to the rules of the game; or if the rules do not seem just to him, he may grumble and not play the game at all, allowing the unfair rules to go unchallenged, or he may fight to change the rules by which he is controlled. Custom and opinion morality constitute the character standards of almost all people.

Custom and opinion are often irrational; they may be positively injurious but be maintained in force by an unscrupulous minority. The merely trivial may become the group standard; the truly worth while may be ignored. Group control often crushes individual uniqueness.

For the sake of his own highest functioning and also for the sake of group advance the individual cannot always accept group control uncritically. There is the necessity of exercising discriminating

judgment regarding current standards and ideals. It is fortunate for any group that the more socially advanced members keep their minds open to the defects of existing beliefs, and that they reflect on their own behavior in relation to existing controls.

Certain types of group control are useful for the age in which they originated, but normally are carried over to a succeeding age, where they are no longer sufficient because new group and personal needs have arisen. The socially more alert members recognize the insufficiency of ancient controls and climb to higher levels of personal integrity and usefulness.

If I control myself because I am obliged to do so in order to succeed in a profession, I am living on a relatively low ethical plane. If I control myself socially, because I wish to maintain the respect of my group, I am still living on a low level. If I control myself socially because of having thought my actions through in their relation to existing group needs, then I have attained a relatively high ethical achievement. In the first two cases group control regulates me; in the third illustration I am likely to become an influence over current controls.

Everyone exercises a degree of social control over himself with reference to the standards of his own immediate groups, the family, the school group, the fraternity, business associates, but it is the ex-

ceptional person who controls himself socially with reference to the needs of other groups, other nations, the world group. It is an important accomplishment to judge one's control of himself according to socially justifiable values; it is unique when one keeps his mind open to defects and excellencies of his immediate groups in their dealings with and attitudes toward other groups. It is also a high calling to reflect socially on one's own behavior in relation to the welfare of mankind everywhere, and especially, to live up to the dictates of such reflections.

2. *Problems in Personal Control.* For an individual to live so that his personal behavior will meet the test of social values, and so that he will be a constructive force in the field of social control, involves many problems. (1) Ethical dualism refers to the fact that an individual has at least two sets of moral standards: one he applies to himself and his friends; the other, to those who are mere acquaintances, strangers, or enemies. Nearly everyone excuses in his own life some habits and ways of doing which he despises when he sees them in the lives of other persons. That which is lying when perceived in others is mere "stretching the truth" or a part of the truth in one's own case. What is vicious when countenanced by the French, is justifiable when practiced by the Germans, if one is a German; and *vice versa*.

Ethical dualism is in reality ethical polytheism. A person has one standard of control for himself, another for his nearest friends, still another for strangers, and yet another for enemies. It is probably true that every person has a different ethical standard for each individual with whom he comes in contact. This status of having many standards of control by which one measures the personalities of different individuals creates a special problem for the individual. He is perplexed when he attempts to treat all persons democratically, that is, on the same basis, and finds that he has already put each one on a different ethical level and himself on a still different plane.

A group of 105 college students were asked by the writer this question: Is your personal ethical standard higher in your dealing with your instructors or with your fellow students? Sixty-six replied that they exercised higher standards of personal control over themselves in dealing with their fellow students, twenty-eight declared that they held themselves to a higher standard of conduct in dealing with instructors than with their fellow students, while eleven asserted that personally they conducted themselves according to the same standard in their relations with instructors and fellow students. Ninety-four out of 105 students thus stated that they conducted themselves on one moral level toward instructors and another, generally higher,

toward their fellow students. The explanation of this common reaction is found in the fact that there is a more personal relationship between student and student than between student and instructor. In other words, there is more fellow-feeling and a greater spirit of accommodation and co-operation between students than between students and instructors.

(2) Ignorance of what are one's highest social obligations is common. In an increasingly complex social order it is becoming more and more difficult for the individual to decide how to act wisely and socially. At municipal elections it is almost impossible to learn who are the better candidates. In national presidential elections it is still more difficult, oftentimes, to know which is the best party ticket to support, because each represents a combination of many unworthy elements along with the worthy.

(3) Inability to live up to the knowledge of the socially best is also common. Why are not people as social as they actually know how to be social? Why do worthy individuals act in ways for which they are immediately sorry? Why do not people always do as well as they know how to do? In other words, why is the individual unable to control his impulses to the degree that he resolves to do?

The answer to these questions is that man's strong instinctive tendencies are representative in

many ways of ancient levels of action and planes of activity which fall far below currently derived standards. A sudden surprise or a subtle suggestion will often snap the higher forms of self control, thus putting the lower impulsive nature in positions of power.

(4) Professional standards of control fall below personal ethics; they often constrain an individual to act below his own best judgment. In medicine a man is justly required to report cases of smallpox to health authorities so that well people may be safeguarded, but professional ethics and public opinion compel the physician to keep wholly silent concerning venereal diseases, even though such silence may subject women to certain and terrible contagion.

The standards which control modern business groups possess far-reaching influence. In the beginning of merchant-trading, a visiting tradesman was viewed not only as a stranger but also as an alien. The group might do to him, or he might do to it, anything that either could. Such forms of control were ethical. For example, it was considered by the visiting tradesman to be excellent business if he could steal some of the natives' wives and children. In certain aspects the early law of trade was but little removed from the law of theft. Trade group relations at first were not controlled by the usual standards of the family group or the local commu-

nity group. The regulations governing trade were practically left for millenniums in the hands of groups of traders and merchants themselves.

The possession of wealth was considered in early days as evidence of the possession of ability, and therefore, of virtue. No questions were asked about the methods by which wealth had been acquired. Shrewdness was synonymous with virtue. To the support of the merchant came the individualistic philosophy with the teaching that the god of the individual is supreme, with the implication that every individual knows best what is for his own good, despite the fact that he is partly controlled by highly selfish impulses that are epochs old. Hence the average individual could easily confirm his own idea that the pursuance of his selfish ends in almost any possible way was justifiable and proper.

Primitive conceptions of trading still persist; the individualistic philosophy gathers millions of dollars to its support. The standard still prevails that an individual may promote his welfare in any way that does not conflict with the law as enforced. It is often not considered wrong "to get around the law."

Business has too often emphasized the rules: To sell as dearly as the market will permit; and, to pay labor as little as it can be induced to accept. As a result of these standards, reactionary conservatism and bold radicalism have clashed: in coun-

tries, such as Russia, the latter won in 1917; in other countries the struggle goes on.

New standards of business control are developing. Business for service, is supplanting the slogan, Business for private profit. Service, however, is being interpreted in selfish terms, that is, in the following way: I will serve most in order to get the most trade and largest profit. A higher standard of control for group relations, especially business and industrial group relations, is springing up, namely, that of the Nazarene whose life represents the principle of serving without having personal gains as the goal, that is, the standard of Unselfish Service.

It is the ideal of unselfish service which is in conflict with profitism. If the former does not win, then the alternative is appearing in the form of radical socialism with its disrespect of established social values, its arbitrary, autocratic methods, and its new form of class control.

(5) In an earlier chapter the ideals which control nation groups were discussed; it was indicated that the individual today often finds his national patriotism in conflict with his concept of world justice. Without relinquishing a single virtue of nationalism as judged by the world group needs, individuals are being forced to revise their patriotism standards, giving them a less selfish connotation, purifying them from narrow adoration, im-

pulsive shouting, and blind subservience. They are beginning to work toward a day when nation groups shall treat one another according to standards of control based on world needs, and not upon the selfish desire of chauvinists, imperialists, or industrial profiteers.

3. *Leadership and Personal Control.* Leadership refers primarily to the traits of initiative, energy, and persistence that are possessed by every normal individual, as well as to the qualities of outstanding persons in the public eye. Leadership is common to all normal individuals. Everyone exercises some influence over his fellows and to that extent is a leader; his leadership ability is related to all leadership ability.

The schools do not give sufficient training in leadership; they stress the importance of copying. Because school curricula and educators have emphasized the copying of standards and the initiating of examples, pupils in schools have developed what have been referred to in a preceding chapter as "school activities," with opportunities to do, and to lead. School activities imply that the ordinary study-classroom procedure constitutes "school passivities," with a minimum chance for initiative and energy to be expressed along new lines. The schools in giving attention to the intellectual side of life, have neglected the feeling and especially the

activity phases of life with all their implications of leadership. Training courses in leadership are needed.

The conspicuous leader, such as a general, a well-known poet, or a president of the United States, possesses inherited qualities which have been stimulated into achievement by the social environment or which the individual has developed without or in spite of environmental aid. The exceptional leader may be explained as a product of superior inherited ability, or of good fortune that befalls a person of ordinary accomplishments, or of group selection and stimulation, or of sheer initiative, energy, and concentration.

Superior heredity is rare; it accounts for the ability of only a small percentage of well known leaders. The highly talented person is likely to rest too much on his inherited ability; he may fail to conserve his precious talents, he is apt to become a "crank," and never develop a balanced, rounded personality.

The person who becomes a leader by good fortune is rare. He is usually an individual of considerable undeveloped ability and common sense. The occasion stimulates him and in responding he may surprise not only his friends but even himself. There are undoubtedly countless persons who would measure up to important leadership responsibilities, providing responsibility should fall gradually or even suddenly upon them.

Occasionally the group selects a person for one position after another of increasing importance. By common sense, attention to work, and ability not noticeably above the average, the individual moves up from one leadership position to another.

Then there is the leader who has no more than ordinary ability, who has few home advantages or perhaps actual discouragement from home, who suffers one social defeat after another, but who drives ahead in season and out, overcoming handicaps, even prejudices, and hostility, and finally reaching and succeeding in important leadership positions.

Leadership is the counterpart of followership. To be a good leader one must know the secret of following well. To follow well or to lead well, one must possess control over self. The Wisdom writer was correct when he said that he who ruleth his spirit is greater than he who taketh a city. Ruling one's impulses is fundamental to becoming a successful group leader.

Self control leads to control of groups.

The leader may use his control ability for purely selfish glorification, or he may exercise control for no selfish purpose, giving his energy, life, and love freely, that other people may have larger opportunities to live and to be useful; he may ask nothing for self or for a group of privileged friends.

Group leadership originates in crises and con-

flicts, and hence is doubly significant as a force in social control. Sometimes the situation which produces leaders is a conflict between an individual and his group. Such cases were common in primitive days; they are also frequent today in primary or small groups. Other situations which produce leaders are conflicts between groups. At all events, he who first shows ability to cope with a highly problematic situation becomes a leader and an outstanding force in social control.

Leadership functions in antagonistic phases of life, in maintaining organized group processes, and in securing social changes. Leaders who are trying to keep time-honored institutions intact and to uphold customs are in conflict with other leaders who are trying to direct people toward new methods of control. A group which is dominated by the leaders of traditional methods tends to fall behind in the march of progress; and a group in which the leaders favoring change are untrained, tends to go to pieces through lack of stability.

A plurality of leadership is apparently necessary; its unity is found in a balance between the conservative and liberal forces. A plurality of leadership may result in progress if its competitive and stimulative processes are kept on productive rather than destructive levels. It may seek out and stimulate the undeveloped capacity of peoples.

The highest type of leader is a true man or

woman. Possessing views which embrace the world, his sense of humanity is so keen that he seems one with the common people. His moral courage knows no bounds. He combines the endurance of the trained warrior, the sagacity of the captain of industry, and the power of socialized attitudes guided by reason and propelled by indomitable will power. The greatest problem solvers are the world's greatest leaders, because they are or will become the dominating forces in social control.

PROBLEMS

1. When do we most admire goodness?
2. Is it of credit to a person to be offered a bribe?
3. Does a corporation or a labor union have a conscience?
4. Why do some honest persons feel no compunction in cheating a railroad corporation?
5. Is the ability or the character of the individual more important from a social viewpoint?
6. Do you agree: Whatever works is right?
7. "At what points is the moral energy of college men and women most severely tested?"
8. When is patience not a virtue?
9. When is benevolence anti-social?
10. Illustrate graft.
11. Which of the qualities of leaders mentioned in this chapter would you prefer to have?
12. "What qualities create a prophet?"
13. "Does the need of leadership diminish with the spread of democracy?"
14. Have the characteristics of leadership changed in the history of society?
15. Why is the leader so important a factor in social control?

CHAPTER XIX

GROUP CONTROL PROBLEMS

PERSONAL CONTROL often breaks down. Sometimes it functions well in behalf of the individual's selfish interests or of the interests of a group of personal friends, but it often conflicts with the welfare of a larger group, such as the city or nation. Personal control based on narrow social attitudes may easily lead to delinquency and crime. Even if a given type of personal control does not violate a law or ordinance it may openly or subtly weaken moral fibre and by degrees destroy human opportunities for development. In so doing, it may not be anti-legal, but anti-social.

1. *Causes of Anti-Group Conduct.* The causes of anti-group conduct are exceedingly complex. They are found in the physical environment, the social environment, and the individual's reactions to his social and physical environment.

(1) The physical environment affects personal control through the influence of such factors as climate, seasons, temperature, and food. A hot climate leads to offences against persons, and a cold

climate to offences against property. The cold winter season results in more suffering from cold and hunger than does the summer, and ranks higher in offences such as theft. The spring and summer are noted for the prevalence of sex offences.

(2) The social environment affects personal control in a variety of ways. A higher ratio of criminality is found among the unmarried and divorced than among those living a family life. This fact may be explained by the greater temptations of the homeless, or to another fact, namely, that the same temper and habits which render a man unfit for marriage and unfavorable to its restraints, may be the same anti-social tendencies which manifest themselves in crime.

Density of population is frequently accompanied by a proportional increase in anti-social conduct. The large city is the hiding place of people with a dark record. It flaunts the allurements of wealth and luxury in the face of poverty; it excites envy; and it harbors the solicitors of vice.

Customs such as the public whipping of offenders, torturing, and lynching provoke criminal impulses. Severe punishments and public executions do not repress crime but increase it by the example which the state sets in taking life or in arousing the spirit of revenge.

Poverty is a cause of crime, and so is riches, for the very rich frequently seem to be as subject to

vice as are the very poor. Unexpected industrial changes, especially crises and depressions, put character to unusual strains and increase the number of law-breakers. There are many who are constrained to steal as was Jean Valjean, rather than see the members of their own families starve and die. In a day of ostentatious display of unlimited wealth, the poor man who is diligent and honest, and yet whose family cannot obtain all the necessities of life, sometimes concludes that "property is robbery."

There is a general conviction which is being honestly held by multitudes that many of those who are very rich have obtained their wealth at the cost of the community and without returning an equivalent. The workingman, pinched by need feels no special sense of wrong in taking a small portion of what he considers "immorally acquired wealth." The sense of having been wronged combined with driving hunger lead the individual to justify his act.

The corruption of partisan politics favors the increase of crime. "When the unscrupulous agents of city railways, railroads, and other powerful corporations," says one authority, "control the elections of aldermen in their own interest and against the public, crime is fostered through the very institutions of justice and law."

Suggestion causes crime. Pictures and reports of

brutal prize fights set boys to fighting in alleys and rear yards. The film showing a spectacular robbery starts anti-social ideas to work in the minds of youthful spectators. Sensational accounts of burglaries and trials in the ordinary newspapers, and in the police gazettes that are handed about in pool rooms and other gathering places of men arouse desires that sometimes culminate in evil. "Gangs" of boys are frequently lead into law breaking by the "dare" of some leader.

Occupations may cause crime. Employment in dishonest kinds of business, in gambling dens, or in liquor establishments tends toward the formation of evil habits. Officials are tempted to abuse public trust in them and to be bribed. Merchants and manufacturers are drawn into fraud, embezzlement, and forgery, while laborers commit theft, disturb public order, and make assaults.

(3) The individual's reactions to his environment bear a causal relation to anti-social conduct. Some individuals are moral imbeciles by birth, and are never able to distinguish between right and wrong. Others are born mentally defective so that at the age of eighteen, for example, they have the mental control and inhibitions of children of perhaps six, ten, or twelve years of age. They possess however the physical passions of eighteen-year-old adolescents, and in a complex environment the inadequately controlled physical passions lead to evil.

Sexual nature is a causal factor in anti-social conduct. There are about five times as many male offenders as female offenders, a fact that is probably due to the greater aggressiveness of men. As women go into business, enter public employment, and hold offices, their temptations increase, and their criminal record is augmented. Moreover, women when once guilty of sexual offences are not so easily restored to normal personal control as are men, partly because of the breaking down of a more sensitive organism, of the despair which seizes them, and because the gates to respectable social life are closed to them, although not to men who are similar offenders.

The individual's problems of self control vary with his age. In his earliest years he is held unaccountable for his acts. Young children who are frequently tempted by hunger or compelled by their parents to go upon the streets to pilfer often become guilty of theft. In middle adolescence the rise of the physical passions leads to fighting, to vicious and immoral assaults upon persons, and to disturbances of the public peace. The bulk of crimes falls between the ages of twenty and forty. With riper years crimes of cold calculation, frauds, and bankruptcy are often committed.

Alcoholism has led to breakdowns of personal control, to vice, and crime. Alcohol weakens "the inhibitory power of the higher nerve centers, con-

fuses the intellect, dulls the conscience, and sets anger and lust free without rein or bridle." Alcoholism has led to brutal treatment of wives and children, has broken down woman's finest restraints, and debauched otherwise competent citizens. Under the influence of liquor, persons have committed sex offences, with high powered automobiles rode down little children in the streets, and have committed heinous murder.

A lack of a sense of individual responsibility causes crime. The individual in all ordinary cases of anti-group conduct must bear a part of the responsibility. Within limits the individual is a choosing agency, and hence must assume a share in the responsibility for the crime that he commits.

Every child, even of the most cultivated parents, requires to be taught what his group obligations are, for he will not recognize all these promptly, and much less will he instinctively live up to their implications. He needs to be trained, controlled, disciplined, and helped into the ways of social co-operation. Even the children of refined, generous, and self sacrificing parents are often guilty of acting in intensely selfish ways. Even the noblest of youths must learn personal control and develop their social dispositions. Crime lurks near vigorous youths, and sneaking vice is characteristic of those who have been whipped into silence, resentment, or fear. All types of adolescents need careful,

steady discipline until they can stand alone in maturity, with the momentum of good habits to keep them upright.

2. *The Apprehension and Trial of Offenders.* In the social machinery for dealing with offenders, the police play a leading part. The functions of the police have long been considered those of repressing crime. The first duty of the police is to apprehend criminals. They are in a good position to gather evidence, because they are continually on the watch for crime. They fail frequently in securing evidence, because many of them do not know what is evidence. An important development in the police agency that has come about in recent years is represented by the traffic squad, who compose an administrative body, who do not acquire an offensively aggressive manner, and who are more courteous than the regular police.

The concept of police as reformers is noteworthy. Joseph Fels has expressed the point when he said that his idea would be to make every policeman an extremely valuable public servant, rather than as now, offering him so many opportunities for deterioration. He would have policemen become a group of social workers, knowing every family and home in their respective districts, and even becoming the neighborhood representative of the city government. The policeman could serve notices and writs of the

courts, collect delinquent taxes, inspect street cleaning, see that garbage is properly handled, secure information for the departments of health and charities, see that all children in the district are in school—these are some of the things that policemen might do as community workers.

The policewoman has become an integral phase of the police agency. Nearly all cities of size have a staff of policewomen, engaged in work which men admittedly cannot perform as well. They are made responsible in part for the conditions which exist at dance halls, vaudeville theaters, and motion picture shows; they attempt to safeguard girls and women from the downward path. The procedure, no longer an innovation, has proved its own justification in the increasing freedom with which girls and women appeal to the police department for advice and protection, in the handling of special cases where a woman's sympathy may be more effective than a man's power, and in the care given to young girls or women who are brought to police stations.

Social defense has made necessary a body of public prosecutors. The public prosecutor, or district attorney, needs not only legal training but also training in criminology and sociology, in order that he may know the scientific requirements of social defense. This knowledge should be supplemented by first-hand experience in working in prisons with

offenders.

Corresponding to the system of public prosecution there is arising a system of public defense, that is, of defense for helpless offenders or alleged offenders. There is often a decided helplessness of the defendant in a trial in the face of an organized legal staff of trained prosecutors. These defendants who have money can employ able counsel, in fact, they often employ such shrewd counsel that public prosecution is unduly hindered and nonplussed, with the result that trials run a course of several weeks, and guilty but powerful defendants escape their due punishment. But when a defendant is poor and unable to employ counsel as able as that in the district attorney's office he is at a serious disadvantage.

As a result of this need, interested persons have organized themselves under the title of a Legal Aid Society, and furnished free of charge legal assistance to defendants without money, or who are immigrants without a knowledge of the rules and customs of the country and who do not know the language. In various parts of the United States the public defender's office has been created. According to this plan, the state recognizing the disadvantage of some of its members, has established officially a system of legal aid and advice for the advantage of those persons who have fallen into trouble and are unable themselves properly to pre-

sent their cases. The public defender's office represents an attempt to secure an increased degree of social justice. The introduction of women to jury service has been successful; women have proved as good jurors as men. Often women of high qualifications are available for jury service whereas men of similar standing because of professional or similar duties have been as a class excused.

The jury system however is under severe indictment. Although its strong point is that it guarantees the person under arrest a trial by his peers, yet his peers are often highly subject to prejudices and possessed of narrow, untrained minds. Lawyers are continually tempted to play upon the feelings of jurors. After the jury has entered upon its deliberations regarding a decision, it is subject to the overpowering leadership of one person, or else an unusually obstinate individual may hold out unduly against the honest judgment of the other eleven jurymen. Because of these facts, trial before a judge is increasing in favor. In such cases the attitude of the lawyer is likely to be sane, without including "grandstand" plays or emotional appeals. The person with a trained, judicial mind has marked advantages over a jury of untrained thinkers in the hands of an unscrupulous lawyer.

3. *Punishment and Reformation.* Three general principles have been followed with reference to ad-

ministering punishment, namely: retaliation, repression, and reformation.

Retaliation is the principle of giving an equivalent for what has been received. If I am to return benefits, why should I not return injuries upon the same basis of give and take. The desire "to get even" is one of the deepest in human nature. An eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth, is the motto of retaliation.

Repression uses fear. To intimidate and to torture is the slogan of repression. In the past both the church and the state took upon themselves the work of suppressing crime by measures that were designed to intimidate would-be criminals by hideous forms of torture. This idea "held humanity in its grasp for thousand of years."

The principle of reformation as the basis for punishment did not receive effective support until an Italian writer, Beccaria, published his *Crimes and Punishment* at Milan in 1764. His book was the sensation of the day; it openly challenged repression and with equal frankness championed reformation. The book was translated into nearly all modern languages; the author lived to see his views adopted widely.

Another successful early advocate of reformation was John Howard of England. In 1773, he was made sheriff of Bedford and placed in charge of the jail in which one hundred years previously John

Bunyan had written *Pilgrim's Progress*. He made a tour of the county jails of England, gathering evidence concerning typhus fever from which the inmates of jails died in large numbers.

During the sixteen years of his public service, almost all at private expense, he visited nearly every country accessible to European travellers. He died in Russia in 1790 of the plague, while trying to find the cause of the same dread disease. On his tomb are these words: He took an open but unfrequented path to immortality. In describing his journeying in behalf of prison inmates the poet has said:

Onward he moves; disease and death retire;
While murmuring demons hate they still admire.

The ideas of Baccaria and John Howard concerning reformation were carried forward particularly in the United States. William Penn, who had been jailed in England, also became interested in prisons; as a result of his influence, the Philadelphia Society for Relieving Distressed Prisoners was organized in 1776 and became the parent of modern American prison associations. In 1776, the Walnut Street jail in Philadelphia had no discipline or adequate care. The first time that a clergyman attempted to conduct religious services in the yard, the jailer as a precaution against riot and to insure

the preacher's personal safety, had a cannon brought into the yard and had stationed beside it a man with a lighted match.

In 1817, the Pennsylvania legislature ordered the construction of two penitentiaries. The one in Philadelphia was planned by Edward Haviland and became the basis of what has since attracted world-wide attention as the Pennsylvania system. The penitentiary in Philadelphia has served as a model in many countries. It has radiating wings, with cells next the outer wall and the corridor in the center, an arrangement which gives light in all the cells and some sunshine in most of them. The confining of prisoners in individual cells, isolated from each other, was a reaction against the method of allowing prisoners of all degrees of criminality to associate promiscuously.

Another type of prison is represented by the Auburn State Prison, established about 1816 in New York. It is designed to separate prisoners by night only. The convicts are employed during the day in large workshops. While at labor the prisoners had to observe the rule of absolute silence, which was enforced with exacting sternness, but which violated the psychological demands of the gregarious impulses unduly and harmfully. Silence in itself constituted a separation of prisoners and fundamental isolation. In 1825, the new state prison at Sing Sing was built with convict labor,

following the Auburn rules; the achievement surprised mankind, for it had not been considered possible to use criminals in constructing a large public building.

The Elmira Reformatory in New York received its first prisoners in 1876; Z. R. Brockway was its initial superintendent. The underlying principles of the Elmira system are: (1) the prisoner can be reformed. (2) Reformation is the right of the convict and the duty of the state. (3) Every prisoner must be individualized and given the special treatment which is needed to develop him in the points in which he is weak. He needs physical, intellectual, or moral culture in combination, but in varying proportions, according to the diagnosis of each case. (4) The prisoner's reformation is always facilitated by his own co-operation. (5) The supreme agency for securing the desired co-operation on the prisoner's part is power lodged in the administration of the prison to lengthen or shorten the duration of the offender's term of imprisonment. (6) The most important principle of all is that the whole process of reformation must be educational.

The Elmira plan includes trade training. The aim of the institution is to send no man out, who is not prepared to do something well enough to be independent of the temptation to lie or steal. If the question is asked: Where does the punishment enter in, the answer is: In the disciplinary

control which is unremitting and exacting. The warden must be of the highest integrity, attainments, and consecration. The Elmira plan has been widely adopted; it ranks as one of the best.

A new, successful development is represented by the work of T. M. Osborne as warden of Sing Sing, where in addition to advocating penal farms and a real indeterminate sentence, he undertook to encourage the prisoners to assume responsibility for their conduct. Under his supervision a welfare league was formed among the prisoners. The idea of self government among prisoners has succeeded surprisingly well among special types of offenders, especially adults who are first offenders. Under certain circumstances prisoners may be allowed to make their own rules and to punish violators. The chief merit of these principles is that prisoners develop the social and self governing spirit that is needed in ordinary group life.

Several specific problems in the reformation of offenders will now receive analysis. (1) Prison labor was first introduced as an aid to religious ministrations, but it does not necessarily produce penitence; it proves not so much a punishment as a boon to prisoners. The prevailing motive of prison labor systems becomes that of training convicts morally.

Many leading forms of prison labor have developed. Under the contract system the prison authorities make arrangements with manufacturers to

pay a certain price a day per convict laborer furnished. The convict works under the direction of the agents of the contractor. The system approaches an indentured servant system of slavery.

The piece-price system is a modification of the contract method. The outside contractor furnishes the material for manufacturing goods and receives the finished articles at an agreed price. The supervision of the industry is thus kept in the hands of the prison officials.

The lease system may be mentioned, chiefly to condemn it. Under this scheme, convicts are leased to contractors for a fixed sum and period. The persons so leasing the prisoners undertake to feed, clothe, and care for prisoners and to maintain discipline. Under such circumstances, the state gives up its function as public guardian of private rights; it surrenders control of its prisoners to irresponsible parties and to personal interests. In such a situation reformatory measures cannot be used.

Under the public or state account system the state owns the plant, furnishes the raw materials, and conducts the business through the prison officials. The profits if any go to the state, in order to help pay the expenses of care.

The plan of employing convicts on public works, such as roads, ditches, canals can be carried out with a limited class of prisoners. But if they labor in large numbers, experience shows that generally

they must be chained together or kept in gangs under the supervision of armed men. The spectacle of such gangs at work on public highways is degrading. The method gives the prisoners a chance, however, to work out-of-doors.

The prison farm affords the discipline of hard work, the advantages of outdoor employment and contacts with nature, a wholesome relief from oppressive urban conditions, and the stimulus that comes from working with living things, plants, and animals. Municipal farms and state farms are greatly needed as constructive means of dealing with many types of prisoners.

(2) The indeterminate sentence provides that a given prisoner may be sentenced, for example, for not less than two years nor more than ten years. Until recently it was the policy to prescribe a definite period of punishment for each crime committed. The indeterminate sentence represents the principle that the object of imprisonment is not punishment primarily but the reformation of the offender and his restoration to society as soon as he is able to lead a responsible life. To give this principle a fair chance to operate it is necessary that prisons be so administered that the convicts receive a chance to demonstrate their fitness and "to work out their salvation under reformatory conditions." A real indeterminate sentence is one in which the offender is kept under reformatory con-

ditions until he develops a reasonable social attitude toward his fellows and society. It is a worthy ideal toward which to strive.

(3) The parole system recognizes the fact that prisons do not offer a good opportunity for developing a normal life. Parole is now combined with the indeterminate sentence, whereby a first offender, and certain others, may be released from prison at the end of the minimum sentence.

(4) Adult probation is a system "not for letting people off, but for providing a definite correctional treatment outside of prison walls." In many cases imprisonment as a punishment carries with it lifelong disgrace and discouragement. Adult probation is intended for first offenders and violators of municipal ordinances and minor regulations. The man on probation makes monthly reports to the probation officers, pays the fine against him in installments, and makes restitution in whole or in part to the person or persons injured by him.

(5) The county jail system, such as has existed in the United States, has been frequently characterized as a relic of barbarism. Its chief advocates are persons who are dependent upon it for salaries or fees.

It causes or intensifies physical deterioration. It is a sad sight to behold strong men herded in a county jail like cattle in stalls, or walking the narrow confines of a county jail "to relieve cramping

limbs." The jails ordinarily do not have even a crude gymnasium in which trustworthy prisoners can exercise weakening muscles. The physical condition of the prisoners is also undermined by unsanitary conditions, impure air, dirty bedding, and dark cells. Darkness, dampness, and dirt combine to make the strong, weak, and the weak still weaker.

Nerve strength is wasted. With nothing to interest and occupy the mind but reflections on the past, many prisoners leave the jail complete neurathenics.

The county jail has been rightly termed a school of crime. First offenders and hardened criminals are thrown together. Exchange of criminal plans and possibilities is the chief diversion; the wise and the inexperienced teach the beginner the vicious art of crime. The narratives of the "jail bird" impress the plastic mind of the youthful offender, and lead him to new acts of crime after his release. The jail tends to tear down rather than build up moral character. The "criminal atmosphere" in a jail is very serious because so many of the prisoners are comparatively young.

The jail system as opposed to a penal farm system reacts sometimes as a greater punishment upon the wife and children of the offender than upon the offender himself. While the prisoner is idling away a sentence of thirty days in jail and being fed and clothed at public expense, his wife

and children are deprived of an income from the wage-earner, and perhaps are suffering for lack of the necessities of life.

The county jail system fails to reform; it is merely a place for confining prisoners. It assumes little responsibility for the physical, mental, or moral improvement of prisoners. It is blind to its responsibility to society, of making prisoners into better men and women while serving their sentences.

The county jail needs to be supplanted by the penal farm. In most of the states in our country two or four state farms of at least 500 acres each, located in different sections of the state, represent a minimum need. If penal farms are objected to because of the cost, the answer can be made that a state farm can be operated at a less actual cost than county jails. After a thorough, unbiased study of state penal farms, Dr. H. J. McClean has stated that "there is not one farm colony in the United States or foreign country under reasonably able management that is a financial burden upon the people. There is not one but what is operated at a profit over the old system. The argument that a correction farm will involve an excessive cost will not stand the test of facts and authority." The county jail system should be supplanted by a penal farm system.

4. *Juvenile Delinquency.* The facts show that a large percentage of adult prisoners start along criminal lines before the age of twenty-one. It is evident that if juvenile delinquency can be dealt with satisfactorily, the percentage of adult criminals will be ultimately decreased. The problems of delinquency are therefore far-reaching.

Until about the year 1900 in the United States, child offenders were arrested and if unable to furnish bail were placed in the regular cells of police stations. If convicted, they were fined, and then sent to the city jail or prison to "lay out" their fine at a rate, for example, of fifty cents a day.

Then came a turning point in the treatment of adolescent offenders; new principles were recognized. (1) The juvenile offender is being treated as a ward of the court; he is no longer regarded as an accused or convicted criminal. The system of fines has been abolished. (2) Separate courts have been established for children's cases; they are unlike the regular court chambers; they resemble a private conference room. Women acting as referees or judges in girls' cases have been markedly successful.

(3) The system of probation has been inaugurated, whereby children are returned to their homes or to the care of responsible parties and kept there under the supervision of probation officers. The child is thus not treated as an isolated unit but as

a member of family and neighborhood groups. The juvenile probation system is intended for first offenders and children guilty of minor offences. It has broken down in many instances, due to a variety of circumstances.

It sometimes has become customary to place on probation adolescents who are "repeaters," that is, who are offenders for two, three, or more times. This practice constitutes undue leniency, which is taken advantage of by evil-minded youths. In consequence the police officers lose interest in arresting youthful culprits who steal automobiles or burglarize houses; the police from their point of view state that it does no good to arrest boys, for in a few days they will be at liberty again, ready to commit new offenses. In reply the probation officers point out that at present the alternative is the worse procedure of sending adolescent boys into city jails to companion idly with mature criminals of the most hardened types, and to come out anti-social and depraved, far more dangerous to society than under the alternative which is practiced.

The whole method of treatment of delinquents today centers in the juvenile court. It has recently been urged that a large percentage of juvenile court cases do not represent children's guilt but parental neglect and guilt; hence not the child but the parent should be brought into court. Thus the domestic relations court could handle an increasing percent-

age of the cases that now go to the children's court.

Further, it is contended that the public schools should segregate all mentally defective adolescents and keep them under institutional supervision rather than allow them as at present to be released from school supervision at fourteen or fifteen years of age and to drift into delinquency. If the public schools would adequately classify pupils by mental tests and keep the mentally deficient under supervision, along with the incorrigibles, until such time as they show themselves capable of self control under urban conditions, delinquency would be cut down perhaps thirty per cent. Thus the school normally should assume responsibility for a percentage of the cases that now come into the juvenile court.

The juvenile court however is serving useful purposes, not the least of which is that it is calling attention to conditions which are creating a rising tide of delinquency. Even after children's cases in which parents are the chief culprits are cared for in domestic relations courts, and after the schools perform their full function in preventing delinquency there will still be need for juvenile courts.

After making a study of 2,121 cases of delinquency the present writer suggests the following analysis of the causes of delinquency. (1) The broken up or unfit home is almost a constant and ever recurring circumstance. The inadequate home

may be divided into at least seven more or less distinct types: the home broken by death; the home entered by prolonged illness, or chronic poverty; the home rent by separation or divorce; the immigrant home in which the parents in trying to become adjusted to American city conditions find that they have lost control over the children; the home in which the parents are shiftless; the home in which the parents are too busy with their economic interests or club activities to give adequate direction to the children; and the home in which wealth and luxury have made the children irresponsible group members.

(2) The second outstanding set of circumstances connected with delinquency points to certain weaknesses in the public schools. The latter are expected to teach self control in the children who come under school supervision for eight or more years. If a child has not acquired self control under this tutelage, the school has in a measure failed. What does it profit a boy if he acquire knowledge but loses or does not acquire personal control. The need for segregating the mentally defective and caring for them under school supervision as long as they do not possess a reasonable degree of self control would cut down the delinquency rate.

(3) General civic neglect and lack of public supervision must be cited as a third cause. Boys and girls are released from the public school system

at the age of fourteen or fifteen into complex social environments. If they come from broken up homes or homes where inadequate control prevails then they are practically the community's wards. But if the community provides no supervision, the result may be delinquency. The presence of harmful amusements operated by commercial interests is another illustration of civic neglect of the common welfare. Civic neglect also refers to the social injustice which extensively prevents poverty.

(4) The absence of a genuinely reverent religious attitude is a fundamental cause of delinquency. Genuine religion produces self control with reference to many of the temptations of which vice is the promoter. An attitude which gives a balanced self control to the individual, wholesomeness in the family life, and a deep and unselfish social interest helps to save boys and girls from delinquency and tends to hold them true to sane pathways.

Throughout the discussion in this chapter as well as in the two preceding chapters, the ever-important although not evident question is this: How much and what types of control shall the group exercise over its members? If too much control obtains, individual growth will be stifled; if too little control, some individuals will take advantage of their fellow individuals. If control is exercised in indirect ways, individuals become resentful. Under some circumstances group control unduly re-

presses certain individuals while affording others special advantages. The question, rising always anew, becomes this: How shall the group control its members so that each shall have the fullest stimulation and opportunity for self expression, self control, and group activity and contribution.

PROBLEMS

1. Does it ever pay to be anti-social?
2. Is it more difficult to be social or anti-social?
3. Explain the statement that "societies have the criminals they deserve."
4. Why are women less criminal than men?
5. What is criminology?
6. Are there "born criminals?"
7. Write out five questions for a civil service examination for policemen.
8. Explain: Labor has a reformatory influence.
9. Why is time usually necessary for the reformatory process to take place?
10. Why does "making believe" that one has developed self control for a length of time tend to bring about reformation?
11. Distinguish between parole and probation.
12. Why does the barbaric jail system exist so extensively?
13. What is the main argument for self government student organizations?
14. Why must homes bear the chief responsibility for delinquency?

CHAPTER XX

GROUP PROGRESS THROUGH SOCIALIZED THINKING

THERE HAS BEEN a large amount of speculation about the nature of society and social progress, in fact, every person has his opinions which sometimes he proclaims as final truth; but it is only in recent years that actual studies of social situations have been made in an accurate, extensive, and scientific manner. The two methods of scientific approach in studying group phenomena that are yielding positive results are represented by social surveys and investigations and social psychological analyses.

1. *Social Surveys and Research.* In the United States, the Pittsburg Survey in 1907-1908 was the pioneer of the current social survey movement. Social surveys however had their origin centuries ago. Piece-meal and isolated work in collecting social data may be found as early perhaps as 3000 B.C. when, according to Herodotus, data were collected concerning the population and wealth of Egypt. William the Conqueror in England in the middle of the eleventh century prepared the Domesday Book, which mentions the names of landlords,

treats of the customs of the realm, describes the towns and cities, surveys the occupations, and gives a census of the people together with references to their economic and social situations.

In modern times, Frederick William I of Prussia instituted a systematic collection of facts relating to population, occupations, and the like. The idea was developed further by Frederick the Great, who was instrumental in developing a system for the gathering of facts relative to nationality, age, deaths, agriculture, and manufacture. In 1790 the United States instituted the modern census, which with the succeeding decades has become very extensive.

More intensive social studies were begun with the work of Captain John Graunt of London, who made the first recorded analytical study in the field of vital statistics, that is, regarding birth rates, death rates, and sometimes marriage rates. Statistical studies of vital human data have been furthered greatly by the development of life insurance. Quetelet, a Belgian astronomer and statistician, included in his investigations certain social, moral, as well as physical characteristics of man, and arrived at conclusions which indicated that all types of human acts, especially crime, suicides, and accidents occur with marked regularity. Ernst Engel, in Prussia in the middle of the last century, made social studies, such as those showing the relation of

an increase in wages to increase in expenditures of a family for food, clothing, rent, and other items. In England the studies of Charles Booth, published in the closing decade of the last century gave the world a storehouse of social facts about the life and labor of the people of London.

In the United States since the publication of the results of the Pittsburg Survey in six volumes, there have developed in nearly all enterprising communities demands for social surveys of one kind or another. These have been either general or special in character. The general survey covers all the leading social conditions in a specific city, town, or rural district. A general survey includes social elements, such as: housing, health, amusements and recreation, industry, immigration, schools, newspapers, churches, delinquency and penal institutions, and social welfare agencies.

Special social surveys are usually confined to some one specific problem, such as housing, amusements, public health, or delinquency. It is possible for a group of public minded citizens to conduct a special social survey to good advantage, whereas such a group would be unable to undertake a complete general survey.

The literature on the subject of social surveys is divided into two classes: (a) manuals, explaining how to conduct surveys; and (b) the results of actual surveys. The latter type of documents has

become extensive in scope and volume. It constitutes a mine of information for sociological analysis.

A social survey, which may be defined as a collecting of data concerning the living conditions in whole or part of the people of a given community, is made for the same general purpose that a business house takes an inventory of its affairs at stated intervals. In the latter case the factors leading to losses can be discovered and prevented, and factors leading to gains can be noted and emphasized. In much the same way a community can discover its disintegrating factors and work out plans of prevention and discover how to increase the efficiency of the operation of its constructive factors. More important still, upon the basis of extensive social data, sound and far-reaching principles of social advance can be determined.

A wise community will plan to inventory itself not once, but at stated intervals, perhaps of three or five years. By so doing a community can determine its development tendencies and the nature of its underlying processes. At this point the need for community case histories is evident. A survey refers chiefly to the present; a community case history deals with the past as well, and diagnoses evolutionary factors. Community case histories would provide adequate data for creating a procedure of true community improvement.

Social investigations and research are similar to surveys except that they are far more intensive. A particular problem, such as the causes of delinquency among adolescents, the relation of inadequate housing to tuberculosis, the traits of a given immigrant people, or the analysis of some sociological concept, illustrates the nature of social, or more particularly, of sociological research.

The last mentioned topic also falls within the field of social psychological approach by which it has been possible for investigators to penetrate the depths of the social process, and discover new principles of group life and development of far-reaching and ever-increasing value. This field of sociological endeavor has already produced many concepts or tools which enable their users to go almost anywhere in exploring the hidden recesses of social processes. Some of these processes have been introduced to the student in Chapter V; upon the basis of them this book has been constructed.

2. *Social Work and Reform.* Another method of attack upon group phenomena is represented by social work. Within recent years this new field of social endeavors has been developing until it has now achieved the rank of a profession. A report as early as 1916 showed at that time that there were about 4000 paid social workers in New York City alone, 1200 of whom were men; that there were in

New York City twenty-one organizations paying salaries of \$5,000 or more a year to social workers, and that salaries ranged up to \$10,000 or more a year to social workers.

Social work as a profession is emerging from its period of youth, a period similar to that of the legal profession when ambitious young men "read law" in offices and shunned the newly organized law schools. Schools for training social workers have developed in recent years until now training facilities may be found in nearly all the larger colleges and universities.

Social work may be divided into group and case work. In its simpler forms social group work refers to conducting or directing clubs and classes in social settlements, recreation centers, or school centers, where large numbers of children gather together after school hours. Then there are institutions, such as children's hospitals and orphans' homes, where children live under constant supervision, but who because of the standardization of such supervision need the special leadership attention that can be given by group workers. Group work with children who come to settlements and other social and educational centers presents a greater variety of opportunities and problems than do institutional children. Social group work is of two kinds: (1) leadership activities, and (2) investigational work, which in turn may be social

psychological or sociological.

The person who essays to act as a leader of a group of lively settlement boys or girls must understand both the psychology of adolescence and of leadership, and also the sociology of social settlement neighborhoods. In the case of the adult classes or groups, the group worker usually becomes a teacher or a director of organized group activities.

After the group leader has established relationships of good will and confidence with the group members, he is in a position to make an analysis either of their psychological traits or of their social situations. Through the co-operation of the group members, the leader may direct a survey of a neighborhood, making it a genuine social survey and bringing about permanent neighborhood improvements.

Social case work refers to helping needy individuals or families in becoming self-sustaining as far as possible. Many families through a sudden and serious turn of circumstances such as economic reverses, the desertion of the wage-earner, or death, are thrown upon the community for aid. The case worker renders temporary financial help and then endeavors to get the individual or family upon a self-sustaining basis in the best way.

Social work involves a knowledge of the group basis of all individual life. In order to understand thoroughly a person in need, the social worker must

know the groups and the group traditions which have helped to develop him. One of the chief activities of the social worker is to mend broken family groups, putting them back into society as functioning units as far as possible.

Social work involves making diagnosis of human predicaments pretty much as a physician diagnoses a case of sickness. In general the needy persons fall into three main classes: the physically handicapped, such as the blind, crippled, and physically sick; the mentally handicapped, such as the mentally defective or unbalanced, and neurasthenics; and the socially handicapped, the largest group of all, including the fatherless family, the neglected or dependent child, the delinquent child, the homeless aged, the alcoholic or drug addict, or the immigrant group which has not become assimilated.

The main forms of social field work give students in sociology one of the best possible introductions to an understanding of the problems of society life. The upper division or graduate student of sociology in colleges who supplements his classroom exercises with social field work places himself in a strategic position with reference to analyzing what is actually taking place in human society. Classroom discussion by itself sometimes becomes remote from real life, but when it is conducted with reference to actual situations that are developing in the community or city, it takes on all the reality

of life itself. Such opportunities for college students are uncommon; almost all college students are compelled to study books rather than life. Training courses in social work, however, afford a combination of sociological discussion and social work activity which is unusually stimulating and conducive to thoughtful development.

Social reform is different from social work in that it represents mass procedure. It uses a tool, such as social legislation, for changing the standards of an entire city, state, or nation, rather than the standards of families or of individuals as in case work. Case work is individual, particularistic, and minute in character; social reform deals with entire groups, using objective, compulsory methods. Social reform rests for its success upon the support of public opinion. It is only when a strong public opinion supports a measure that it can transform a whole group.

Social reform is general, unmindful of individual cases; case work affords warm human contacts. By seeing life from the standpoint of its general needs, social reformers are able to catch the meaning of large social needs and tendencies; the case worker knows life in its individual aspects and hence is an authority whom both the social reformer and the sociologist need to consult frequently. The social reformer lifts his eyes to the future; the case worker has his eyes bent on the present, on today's partic-

ular need and opportunity. Together, hand in hand, each may supply what the other lacks, and contribute to group control a multiplied common sense. The case worker at his best is the investigator, rendering aid and also gathering social data from which sociological principles may be drawn. The social reformer at his best is putting into group operation the principles which have stood the test of sociological standards.

3. *Social Telesis*. Upon the basis of adequate and well interpreted facts, any community which is sufficiently interested to do so, may enter upon a definite program of directing its own purposes toward constructive ends. Social telesis refers to the process whereby groups can accelerate their own development through prevision. One of the goals of social telesis is that of securing the complete participation of every individual in effective ways in the life of the group and of getting the group to work toward the largest feasible expansion of the lives of all the individuals in the group. There are purposes which may be thought of as representing the main aims of a community that is governed by the principle of social telesis; these will now be stated.

(1) The conservation of natural resources and utilization of these for the benefit of all, not of a shrewd few is an elemental aim of social telesis. To

maintain a system of private ownership of natural resources and yet not permit this ownership to exercise special privilege, is probably fundamental to an ideal society.

(2) A sound physical and mental heredity is a characteristic of the ideal society which social telesis postulates. The degenerate offspring of feeble-minded or alcoholic parents come into the world with a just grievance against society; they hold back group development. Every child, or nearly every one, in an ideal group life will be well born.

(3) An environment favorable to health is a third essential in the society in which social telesis governs. Inadequate housing, lack of sanitation, and bacterial diseases will have no place in a perfected and social group. Disintegrating amusements and the nerve-wrecking pace of urban life will be overcome.

(4) A sound family life and well controlled childhood are closely related and fundamental phases of an ideal social group. Apparently nothing can take the place of wholesome family life. Children need to be protected from the neglect of very poor and very rich parents—the former not being able or knowing how to care properly for children and the latter often being too lenient and spoiling their children with luxuries and money. Children need to be safeguarded from exploitation by employment for wages in the years of childhood and early ado-

lescence; they need a full-orbed chance to become socially educated.

(5) A working period, marked by creative effort, is to be coveted for both men and women. The conditions of industry need to be developed in such ways that workers shall find their greatest enjoyments in life in their work and not be obliged to watch the clock for the end of the day to come or to look forward to the pay day, as the time when they can begin to enjoy themselves. Industry should be so controlled that workers will not be worn out and thrown upon the scrap heap in middle life.

Industry and business are in process of being organized democratically, that is, on bases which include the representation of all three factors which are essential to the ongoing of industrial and business enterprises, namely, labor, capital, and the public. The procedure makes possible the continuance of the private property principle, forestalling the necessity of revolutionary measures. Each of the three parties in industrial and business life are slowly becoming socialized in attitudes, that is, being willing or being forced to view its own interests in the light of the welfare of the other two constituents.

A general system of insurance against all the contingencies which now cause dependency or sudden lowering of the standard of living is vital. Such a system would include compulsory insurance

against death, accident, sickness, and old age, but it must not be construed as a substitute for those measures which would guarantee the workers economic justice and industrial democracy.

In the list of industrial essentials there should be set forth a standard of living that includes an income sufficient to provide the necessities of physical and mental living, such as proper nourishment, reasonable recreation, protection from cold, heat, rain, and snow, darkness, overcrowding, and indecency. The minimum standard also includes some of the comforts or amenities of life.

(6) Instead of a prevailing attitude of "What can I get out of the government," a socialized attitude of "What can I do for the government" is a normal goal of social telesis. Then there is the attainment of ethical or personal control standards which involve the maintenance by the individual of a social attitude in all his dealings with all his fellows.

(7) Social telesis aims to secure a widespread and preponderant appreciation of music, painting, sculpture, poetry, and the other arts. Art sets patterns of rhythm, order, balance, and movement which are essential to a well rounded personal and group life.

(8) Another normal goal of social telesis is a system of vocational training, industrial, commercial, and domestic, which would train individuals first

of all for good parenthood, good citizenship, and socialized behavior; and which would train all to make an independent living but in productive ways, not denying a full opportunity to any other individual.

(9) The prevention of delinquency, criminality, pauperism, and other pathological states by scientific methods is another aim of social telesis. Delinquency and criminality could be largely overcome by proper training in personal control through the home, play, school, and similar group activities. A scientific procedure could help families and individuals who are out of social adjustment to become permanently efficient; poverty, except as an occasional phenomenon, could be eliminated by social telesis.

(10) The last condition to be mentioned as an essential phase of social telesis is a type of religious control which stimulates the finest development of the highest spiritual nature of human beings. As the true spiritual self is an enlarged social self, provision must be made for the growth of broad and deep religious influences. In an evolving human society, the expanding, elevating, and purifying influence of religion is needed.

Social telesis or purposefulness will multiply the usefulness of any group. It will perfect the relationships between individuals, between individuals and groups, and between groups and groups; in the

meantime it will set the center of individual struggle outside the individual, thus enabling personality to rise to its fullest possible fruition in socialized behavior.

PROBLEMS

1. What is the difference between a census and a social survey?
2. How would you go about it to get a social survey started?
3. Contrast a social survey and a community case history.
4. What is the main value in social research?
5. What social reforms are most needed in your community?
6. What are the main values in social work as a profession?
7. How is social work related to sociology?
8. What personal qualifications must a social worker possess?
9. What similarity in method is there between social work and practicing medicine?
10. Give a new illustration of social teleosis.
11. How are social data related to social teleosis?
12. How is social teleosis related to social control?

CHAPTER XXI

GROUP PROGRESS THROUGH SOCIALIZED THINKING

(*continued*)

4. *The Teaching of Sociology.* In recent years sociology has become a teaching subject. Because other and standard subjects stressed the principles of individual pecuniary success out of all proportion to the principles of social welfare, even making it possible for individuals to prey upon persons less educated and privileged, the necessity for some line of study which should view life from the group angle became urgent. Hence sociology has been accorded an important place in the curricula of the schools of higher learning. The teaching of sociology is becoming widely diversified.

(1) There is the original territory of sociology teaching, namely, the advanced fields of post-graduate college and university work. For many decades courses in social philosophy and general sociology have been offered advanced classes of students; these courses have been highly specialized and conducted for advanced students, with little uniformity regarding methods among different instructors.

(2) In recent years the number of specialized

undergraduate college courses in sociology, such as courses dealing with poverty, delinquency, the family, eugenics, has increased with amazing rapidity. The college is rare indeed which has no course in sociology—some offering ten, or twenty, and even fifty or sixty courses, where sociology has been developed thoroughly. The organization of departments of sociology is taking place more slowly, a fact which does not reflect unfavorably upon sociology, but simply shows the conservatism of the departments in which sociology courses arise.

(3) The teaching of an introductory course in college sociology, generally known as sociology I, has sometimes been made a course in anthropology, or the study of the origin of man; again it has been a course in social economics, beginning with an economics background; it is given in some institutions largely as a course in social problems or in social institutions; but the most recent tendency is to give the course a psychological approach and treat it as a study of the laws of group life. Only recently has the introductory course in sociology been given its correct foundation in social psychology.

It is this latter type of introductory course in sociology which is being recognized in normal schools as being fundamental to the training of public school teachers. The teacher needs, not only to know her subject, her pupils, but also the nature of the group life of which her pupils are a

product and also to know the nature of the group life for which she is fitting her pupils to become participating members. The teacher does not primarily teach a child a certain subject; she teaches children subjects so that they may succeed in group life, not selfishly, but for the good of other persons and human groups. Only so, can an individual succeed in attaining his highest possibilities, and by teaching only in this way can the teacher become truly successful. Teaching is a process of fitting pupils to become unselfish public servants, chiefly in their occupational and professional callings and in their daily interactions with their fellows.

(4) The high school is slowly being recognized as a field for teaching sociology. The presence of other studies in an already overcrowded curriculum has hindered the introduction of sociology courses, but sooner or later the need of high school students, the majority of whom do not go to college, for sociology courses will be recognized and met. High school students, being at an age where individuality asserts itself, are in special need of studies with a group emphasis.

(5) Social studies are being introduced in the grades, especially in the upper grades. The need for social studies in the lower grades is also keen. The teaching of them in these grades is no more difficult than the teaching of elementary mathematics or any other subject; the technique of teach-

ing them however is not yet developed. The presentation of social ideas and group responsibility, normally begun in the home during the first year of the child's life, should be furthered in an organized way by the school when it is entered by the child at the age of five or six years.

By teaching sociology, the leaven of socialized thinking can work out and through all societary life. In consequence, a better type of group control can develop, social telesis can be furthered, and a new social, industrial, political, and religious order can evolve.

5. *The Science of Sociology.* Sociology is one of the latest sciences to develop. It represents, according to Lester F. Ward, the last and highest landing on the staircase of knowledge, or the cap sheaf and crown of any true organization of the sciences. Let us examine the antecedent elements as a basis for stating the task of sociology.

For centuries, accurate and scientific studies have been made of the phenomena in the inorganic, non-living, and material world. The facts concerning the earth as a member of the galaxy of the heavens have been organized under the science of astronomy; concerning heat, light, electricity and similar physical forces, under the science of physics; concerning the primary elements of which material bodies are composed, under the science of chem-

istry. All these sciences have developed on the basis of mathematics as the tool of accurate thinking, analysis, and classification.

As a result of these studies, man has been able to make marked progress in gaining control of the physical resources of the earth. He has been able to extract metals from their ores, to increase marvelously the food production of the soil, to turn iron ore into powerful machines driven by steam, gas, or electricity, and to conquer in a limited way both time and space.

In addition to the accurate investigations which have been made in the physical world of matter, recent decades have witnessed profoundly far-reaching studies of the phenomena which characterize the world of living things. Upon the basis of known physical laws, it has been possible to apply scientific methods in the field of organic activities. The phenomena concerning plant life have been investigated in the name of botany, and concerning animal life in the name of zoology. The principles which have been established in the several organic fields have been formulated into the general science of biology, the science of all living things.

The subject matter of the biological sciences is more complex than that of the physical sciences, partly because it is based directly and indirectly upon the laws of the physical universe, which the physical sciences have not yet adequately described,

and partly because it is composed specifically of non-mechanical, ever-changing, and often rapid changing, evolving, living beings. Biological knowledge has enabled man to develop modified forms of plant and animal life which are exceedingly useful. It has given man a certain dominance over the ills which attack living beings, especially those which are caused by pathogenic bacteria.

During the last part of the nineteenth century, a few scholars began to concentrate attention upon a complex phase of living phenomena, namely, the psychical side of life. The psychological sciences are based directly upon biological facts and laws, and indirectly upon the laws of the physical universe. Their subject matter is unusually difficult to study, because it is spiritual, intangible, changing, and not easily measured by mathematical standards. Nevertheless, specific scientific progress has been made in the discovery of psychological principles and in their application to educational processes, to industrial efficiency, and to the abnormal and normal phases of mental life.

Still more recently, the most complex phase of human life, namely, human association, is being scientifically studied. The living of human beings in groups is the subject of the social sciences. The study of the wealth getting and wealth using phenomena of society life is known as economics; of the community and governing activities, as political

science; of the personal conduct activities, as ethics; of the mental training activities, as education; and of the attempts to meet the highest spiritual needs, as religion.

Other leading social sciences are those in the historical group. Analytic and synthetic descriptions of peoples in the past are known as the science of ethnology; and of the origin of mankind, anthropology.

To consider human association, however, from the standpoint of any one phase, such as economic activities, or political activities, gives a biased view of group life. Sociology, a scientific study of the processes and laws of group life, is needed. It is necessary to know the processes by which groups develop and stimulate personalities to their full fruition and by which personalities are controlled by this fundamental knowledge, before an individual can function well in any domestic, economic, political, educational, esthetic, religious capacity.

The new sociology is the product of three more or less distinct lines of sociological development. One of these historical antecedents is social philosophy, which may be said to have originated with Plato and Aristotle; to have been focalized by Auguste Comte, the French philosopher who coined the term, sociology, about 1838; to have been introduced to America through the biological evolutionism and the *laissez faire* doctrines of Herbert

Spencer, whose ideas in part were vigorously championed by W. G. Sumner, and at other points successfully challenged by Lester F. Ward.

Another antecedent of modern sociology is found in the concepts, charity and philanthropy. This movement began with the ancient and simple methods of helping one's neighbor, and extends to and includes the current organized and scientific efforts to remove the sufferings of the masses of people who may be living on the opposite side of the earth from the givers. This type of social effort has produced what is known today variously, as social work, social reform, social technology, and sometimes applied sociology. It concerns itself with preventive and remedial formulae of treating countless forms of social maladjustments.

The third approach to modern sociology is the latest to be developed and the most vital; it is known as the social psychological method. Behavior is the new center of study. Research has been directed to animal behavior, to the behavior of primitive peoples, and to current human behavior.

Current sociology is the product of these three sets of contributions, social philosophy, social technology, and social psychology. The merging of these lines of development has created a distinctive morale along the whole sociological front. Sociology has become a tangible, dynamic, scientific study of group phenomena and social processes with an em-

phasis upon personality, social attitudes and values, and behavior.

The outstanding force which sociology studies is personality, and the major societary process that sociology considers is that by which personalities are developed into fully functioning and co-operative persons as a result of being active members of groups. The infant is born into dominant sets of family, racial, national, and religious traditions, and during his early years his attitudes and interests are largely determined by these traditions. On the other hand, he possesses inner needs which gradually become definite, causing him to react in unique ways to the various traditions of the different groups of which he is directly or indirectly a member. These give-and-take processes, often assuming a confusing social complexity, constitute the primary field of investigation in sociology.

The problems of human society have become increasingly important in recent years. The common people have been raising questions regarding the meaning of social democracy. The World War created a demand for democracy before the masses of mankind really learned the nature of democracy or understood normal methods of securing it. The cry, more or less blind, but nevertheless genuine, vociferous, and planetary, for social, industrial, political, and religious democracy on the part of oppressed groups everywhere has aroused attention

in a thousand new ways to the need of securing a better knowledge of group evolution along democratic lines.

As a result of sociological study, it is becoming more and more feasible for human groups to direct their own evolution. To the extent that the principle of social telesis is understood and adopted, it is decreasingly necessary for human societies to grope hither and thither in the dark, to advance and then to retrograde in alternate fashion. Social telesis, based on sociological knowledge, will enable all groups from the smallest to the world community to evolve steadily, always forward, and democratically.

The need for sociology is clear. At least the possession of the sociological point of view is a minimum essential for every member of human society, in order that all groups may function up to their richest possibilities. The need for a universal study of sociology is based on several factors.

(1) Sociology offers a point of view which is humanly superior. The sociological viewpoint is the attitude of considering every problem of life in the light of the welfare of society. The individual views his personal problems in the light of the welfare of all the social groups of which he is a member, including the world group; the group itself passes judgment continually on itself in the light of the needs of other social groups, again including the

world community.

The sociological attitude gives unbiased attention to all sides of any human problem. To meet this standard is not easy even when a person is simply an impartial spectator and has no personal interests involved in the situation; but when one's desires and welfare is represented on one side or the other of the struggle, it is exceedingly difficult to view all phases of the situation in a purely unbiased manner.

A plea for a sociological attitude is indirectly but powerfully made by John Galsworthy in his drama entitled *Strife*, where it is shown how the bitter struggles between labor and capital are perpetuated because neither side is broadminded enough to perceive the problems and needs of the opponent. When each contender through suffering reaches a position where with unbiased eyes it perceives the other's point of view, misunderstanding is eliminated, and conciliation and harmonious progress results. If both the opponents in the bitter struggle between labor and capital had had a sociological attitude, each would have seen that employees and employers fundamentally have nearly everything in common, that their primary aim should be to meet the needs of consumers as efficiently and inexpensively as possible, and that reasoning together, arbitrating, and arriving at conciliatory solutions are the chief roads to mutual and hence social progress.

A person with a sociological attitude would not engage in any business which is socially non-productive or which depends for its maintenance upon raising the cost of living and depriving worthy persons of a full chance to reach their best. If a lawyer, he would not assist clients, for pay, to violate the laws of the city or nation. If a citizen, he would place his interests in his national group and its government ahead of his own private, gainful interests. A person with a sociological attitude would put always and everywhere, in his private business and public life the human standard of values above the economic standard. It is only upon the basis of the sociological attitude that human groups and individual persons alike can move unfalteringly, steadily, and nationally toward the ideals of highest usefulness.

(2) Sociology offers permanently significant ideas. It deals with concepts which are the largest dependable terms known to mankind. They pertain to the deepest processes of personal and group nature; they explain all the diversified activities of human beings. All human life in its most concrete details can be explained and understood in terms, such as isolation and interaction; conflict, accommodation, and co-operation; attitudes, values, and behavior; individualization and socialization.

(3) Sociology analyzes present-day social conditions from the standpoint both of groups and indi-

viduals. It gives to troubled persons as effective a key to the problems of associative life as has yet been made. It lays bare social maladjustments, individual chicanery, and group selfishness. It depicts the constructive elements of social processes.

(4) Sociology balances the age-long emphasis on self culture and self development. It is a true social culture study. When all persons are fully versed in social culture a new heaven and a new earth will be realized. Self development is essential, but without the controlling influence of social culture, both groups and individuals are doomed.

(5) Sociology develops socialized personalities. It leads to a rich and balanced expression of both the individual and social phases of human nature. It creates fundamental attitudes which result in socialized behavior, that is, unselfish behavior in behalf of other persons and groups.

(6) Sociology leads to the profession of teaching the subject. As already shown in this chapter, the field for sociology teachers is well diversified, centering in college and university work, but extending also to normal schools, high schools, and even through the elementary schools.

(7) Sociology leads to social work as a profession. The leader of groups and the case worker are in increasing demand. The case worker, whether doing personal work in the social resuscitation of individuals or of family groups, is rendering a high

type of service.

(8) Sociology suggests useful avocations. Every thoughtful person gives his attention to one or more avocations as well as to a main vocation. By so doing his personality is enriched and his usefulness augmented. Only a small number of persons can be sociologists but every person can develop an interest in a social avocation, such as child welfare work, housing welfare, or community welfare, at least to the extent of becoming a local authority in his avocational field.

(9) Sociology points the way to democracy, that is, to a condition of society where people are ruling, each not primarily for his own gain but for the welfare of other persons. Sociology overcomes narrow prejudices, class hatred, and selfish ambition; and stimulates every person who appreciates the meaning of the fundamental sociological concepts to render to all other persons and to all groups of which he is a member from the family group to the world group a full measure of unselfish service.

PROBLEMS

1. Why has sociology been one of the latest sciences to develop?
2. Why has sociology developed rapidly as a college study?
3. Why should social studies be taught in the elementary grades?
4. Why is teaching sociology more important than social work or social reform?
5. How is a social science such as economics indebted to sociology?
6. What are the antecedents of current sociology?
7. Give a new illustration of the sociological attitude or point of view?
8. When is it most difficult to maintain a sociological attitude?
9. What is greater than a socialized personality?
10. Why is sociology needed so much even in a modern Christian civilization?

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2. The origin and development of a given social institution.
3. An analysis of a social group (to which the writer belongs).
4. The contrasts between sociology and socialism.
5. The relation of anthropology to sociology.
6. The relation of history to sociology.
7. An example of social progress (full description).

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1. A social study of the Kentucky mountaineers.
2. The relation of geography to sociology.
3. The effect of climate and geography on the development of your city.
4. The geographical distribution of cities.
5. River valleys as paths of migration and trade.
6. A social comparison of Tropical peoples and Temperate peoples.
7. A comparative study of Arctic and Tropical peoples.

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1. A study of the Kallikak family.
2. The history of the eugenics movement.
3. The contributions of Galton to the science of eugenics.

4. The social life of earliest man.
5. The pure food movement in the United States.
6. The struggle against tuberculosis.
7. A national department of health.
8. Public health work (in your city).

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1. Analysis of a given habit.
2. An analysis of the pugnacious impulses.
3. Feeble-mindedness as a social factor.
4. The social meaning of sympathy.
5. The social significance of habit.
6. A comparison of imitative and initiative behavior.
7. A comparison of custom imitation and fashion imitation.
8. A case study of gregariousness.

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1. Description of a specific social attitude.
2. The evolution of social attitudes in a specific person's life.
3. A comparison of the aristocratic attitude and the democratic attitude.
4. Analysis of a given social value.
5. A case study of social isolation.
6. The hobo as a study in social isolation.
7. A study of homesickness as a result of isolation.
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9. The socialization process in a given child.

10. Problems of control in a family group.
11. An analysis of the taming process.

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2. Woman's contributions to social progress.
3. The primitive family.
4. The Hebrew family.
5. Family life among Indian tribes.
6. Family life in American colonial days.
7. The nature of feminism.
8. The home as affected by feminism.
9. The struggle for equal suffrage in the United States.
10. Young people's attitudes toward marriage as affected by motion picture shows.

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3. The garden city plan of housing.
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2. The playground movement in the United States.
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8. Relation of playgrounds to delinquency.
9. Social uses of leisure time.
10. Community recreation.
11. A recreation program for the family.

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2. The occupations of the Iroquois Indians.
3. The rise and decline of slavery as a social institution.
4. The origin of a specific occupation.
5. Factory legislation.
6. A study of the newsboy and his trade.
7. Child labor and legislation.
8. A living wage for a family of five.

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2. The National Consumer's League.
3. The National Woman's Trade Union League.
4. Problems of organizing women in industry.

5. Relation of overfatigue to industrial accidents.
6. A study of a given occupational disease.
7. Waves of unemployment in the United States.
8. The Federal labor exchange.
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2. Social effects of guild socialism.
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8. Industrial democracy.
9. A program for solving the labor-capital conflict.

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2. The community organization movement.
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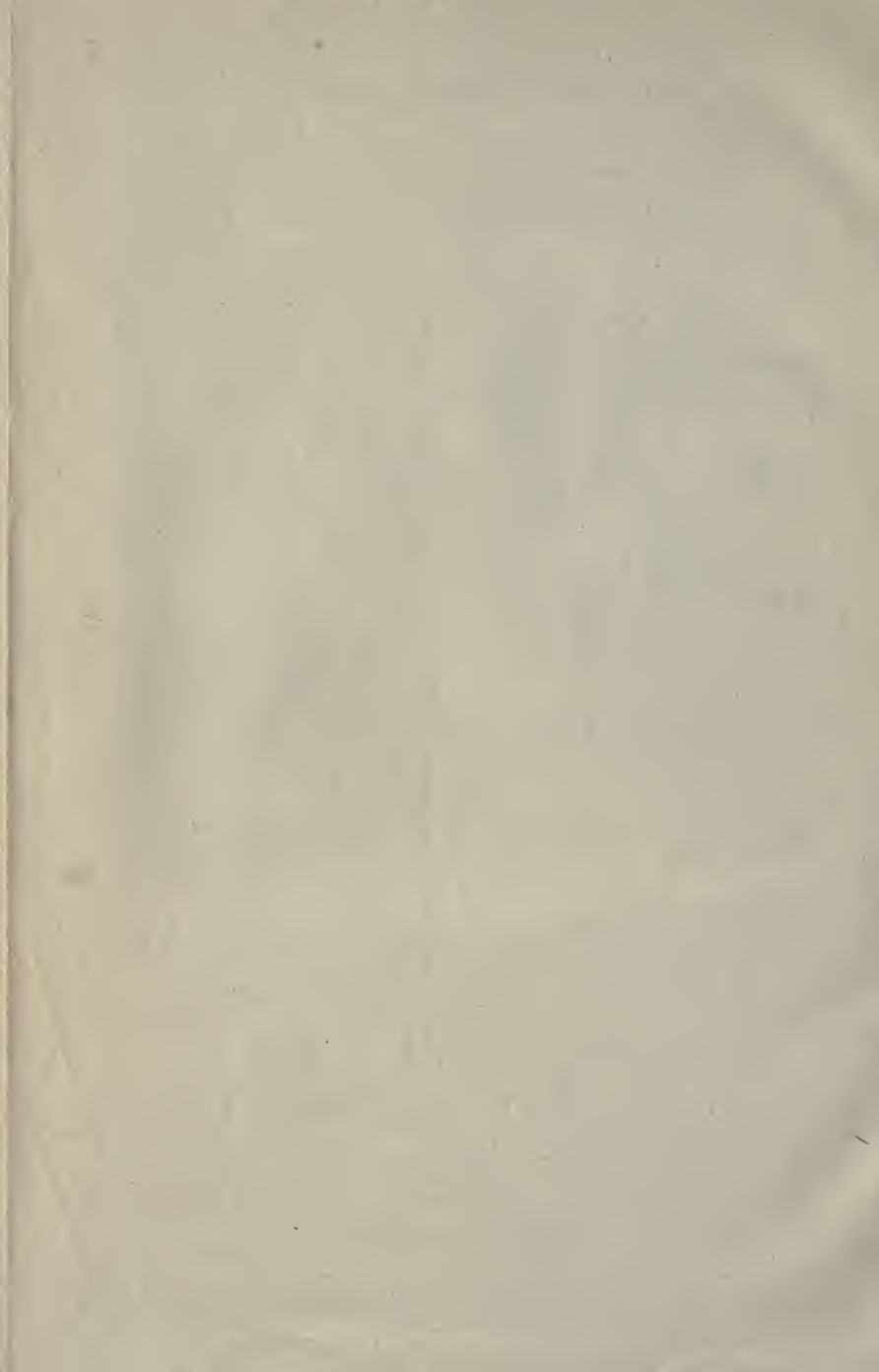
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